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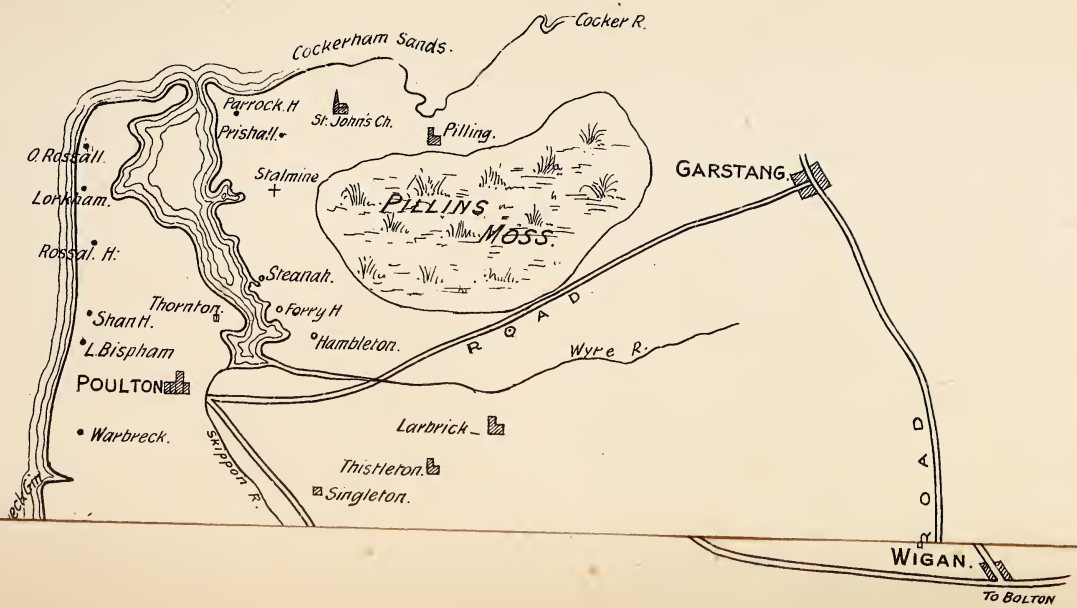
# TRANSACTIONS OF THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

VOL. LIV.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Rossal. H.
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Ferry H
Shan H.
Hambleton.
L. Bispham
Wyre R.
ROAD
POULTON
Larbrick
Warbreck.
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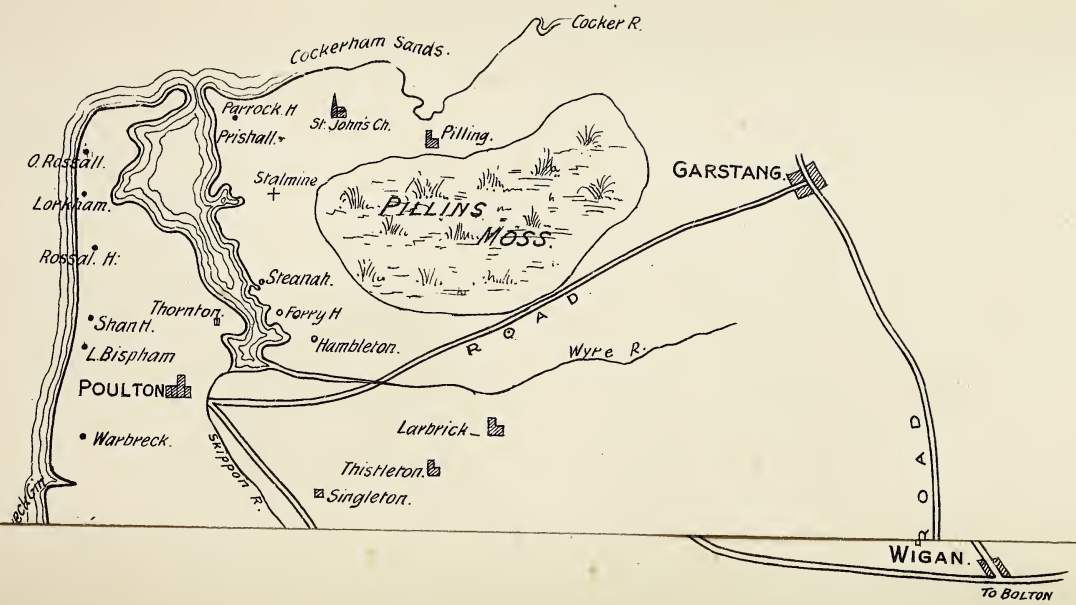
WIGAN.
TO BOLTON

BLACKPOOL 1751.

AFTER EMANUEL BOWEN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Thornton.
Forry H
Shan H.
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L. Bispham
Wyre R:
POULTON
Warbreck.
Larbrick
Skippon R.
Thistleton.
Singleton.
ROAD
ROAD
WIGAN.
TO BOLTON

# TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

# HISTORIC SOCIETY

OF

# Lancashire & Cheshire.

FOR THE YEAR 1902.—VOLUME LIV.

NEW SERIES—VOLUME XVIII.

LIVERPOOL:

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.

1904.

T. BRAKELL LTD., LIVERPOOL.

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# EDITORIAL NOTE.

In the present volume will be found an Index to the Society's *Transactions*, from the beginning down to Volume LI (1849-1900). For this very useful and important index the heartiest thanks of the Society are due to Mr. F. C. Beazley, who has compiled it with great care and labour, and presented it to the members.

The thanks of the Society are hereby gratefully rendered to Mr. Robert Gladstone, junior, for a donation of £10 towards the cost of illustrating his paper on the Knights Hospitallers.

The Authors of Papers are alone responsible for the facts and opinions in their several communications.

An Index of Archæological Papers published in 1901 (printed under the direction of the Congress of Archæological Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries) is given at the end of this volume.

The present volume has been prepared for the press by R. D. Radcliffe, M.A., Ch. Ch., Oxford, F.S.A., Honorary Secretary and Editor.

# COUNCIL AND OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1903.

(Corrected to November, 1903.)

---

## President.

THE LORD LIEUT. OF LANCASHIRE (THE EARL OF DERBY, K.G., G.C.B.)

## Vice-Presidents.

THE LORD LIEUT. OF CHESHIRE (THE EARL EGERTON OF TATTON).
THE REV. THE RECTOR OF LIVERPOOL.
JOHN PAUL RYLANDS, F.S.A.
HENRY DOUGLAS ESHELBY, F.S.A.

## Members of Council.

**TO SERVE TO END OF 1903.**

F. C. BEAZLEY.
T. ALGERNON EARLE.
LIEUT.-COL. FISHWICK, F.S.A.
W. FORSHAW WILSON.

**TO SERVE TO END OF 1904.**

JOHN HARGREAVES.
HENRY PEET, F.S.A.
A. M. ROBINSON.
W. O. ROPER, F.S.A.

**TO SERVE TO END OF 1905.**

THOMAS GOFFEY.
PROFESSOR MACKAY, M.A., LL.D.
J. G. PRENTICE.
LIEUT.-COL. PILKINGTON, F.S.A.

## Hon. Treasurer.

WILLIAM E. GREGSON.

## Hon. Librarian.

G. T. SHAW.

## Hon. Curator.

W. F. PRICE.

## Hon. Secretary and Editor.

WM. FERGUSSON IRVINE.

## Hon. Assistant Secretary.

JAMES A. WAITE.

# Officers of the Society since commencement.

## Presidents.

1. Right Hon. Francis, 1st Earl of Ellesmere, Lord-Lieut of Lancashire - - - - - - - - - - 1848.
2. Right Hon. Charles William, 3rd Earl of Sefton, Lord-Lieut. of Lancashire - - - - - - - - - 1854.
3. General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, K.C.H., D.C.L. - - 1855.
4. Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, M.P. - - - 1863.
5. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., &c. - - - - - - - - 1866.
6. Rev. Canon Hume, D.C.L., LL.D., &c. - - - - - 1869.
7. The Very Rev. J. S. Howson, D.D., Dean of Chester - - 1875.
8. Thomas Glazebrook Rylands, F.S.A., &c. - - - - - 1879.
9. Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Oxford, F.S.A. - - - 1885.
10. Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Chester, D.D. - - 1889.
11. RIGHT HON. ARTHUR, 16TH EARL OF DERBY, K.G., G.C.B., LORD-LIEUT. OF LANCASHIRE - - - 1903.

## Secretaries.

1848. Rev. A. Hume. LL.D., and H. C. Pidgeon.
1851. Rev. A. Hume, LL.D., and Rev. Thomas Moore, M.A.
1854. Rev. A. Hume, LL.D.

| | | *Assistant Secretaries.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1855. | Rev. A. Hume, LL.D. | Thomas G. Wedgwood. |
| 1856. | Rev. A. Hume, LL.D. | W. W. Rundell. |
| 1857. | Rev. A. Hume, LL.D. | J. H. Genn. |
| 1864. | Nicholas Waterhouse. | J. H. Genn. |
| 1867. | David Buxton. | Charles Dyall. |
| 1875. | David Buxton. | [Arthur Wakefield.] |
| 1876. | David Buxton. | Eugenio Londini. |
| 1877. | C. T. Gatty, F.S.A. | Eugenio Londini. |
| 1882. | C. T. Gatty, F.S.A. | T. N. Morton. |
| 1884. | E. M. Hance, LL.B. / R. D. Radcliffe, M.A. | T. N. Morton. |
| 1888. | R. D. Radcliffe, M.A., F.S.A. | T. N. Morton. |
| 1892. | R. D. Radcliffe, M.A., F.S.A. | T. N. Morton. / W. F. Irvine. |
| 1898. | R. D. Radcliffe, M.A., F.S.A. | W. F. Irvine. / Jas. A. Waite. |
| 1903. | WM. FERGUSSON IRVINE. | JAS. A. WAITE. |

## Treasurers.

1848. Thomas Avison, F.S.A.
1860. William Burke.
1867. John G. Jacob.
1886. H. D. Eshelby, F.S.A.
1898. W. E. GREGSON.

| | Librarians. | Curators. |
|---|---|---|
| 1848. | Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. | Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. |
| 1851. | Rev. Thomas Moore, M.A. | Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. |
| 1859. | David Buxton. | A. C. Gibson, F.S.A. |
| 1867. | Nicholas Waterhouse. | A. C. Gibson, F.S.A. |
| 1869. | Nicholas Waterhouse. | H. Ecroyd Smith. |
| 1871. | John R. Hughes. | H. Ecroyd Smith. |
| 1875. | John R. Hughes. | J. Harris Gibson. |
| 1876 | C. T. Gatty, F.S.A. | J. Harris Gibson. |
| 1877. | E. M. Hance, LL.B. | J. Harris Gibson. |
| 1880. | *(Offices in abeyance.)* | |
| 1885. | W. Thompson Watkin. | J. Harris Gibson. |
| 1886. | W. Thompson Watkin. | W. Forshaw Wilson. |
| 1889. | George T. Shaw. | W. C. Ashby Pritt. |
| 1889. | George T. Shaw. | Charles Potter. |
| 1899. | GEORGE T. SHAW. | W. F. PRICE. |

# List of Honorary Local Secretaries.

## LANCASHIRE.

| District. | Name. |
|---|---|
| *Bacup* ... ... ... | Rev. J. S. Doxey, Christ Church Vicarage, Bacup. |
| *Blackburn* ... ... | |
| *Blackpool* ... ... ... | The Rev. E. Lupton, Crystal Road, South Shore, Blackpool. |
| *Burnley* ... ... ... | W. Farrer, Thornburgh House, Leyburn, R.S.O., Yorkshire. |
| *Carnforth* ... ... ... | The Rev. W. B. Grenside, Melling Vicarage, Carnforth. |
| *Clitheroe* ... ... ... | A. J. Robinson, Clitheroe Castle, Clitheroe. |
| *Colne* ... ... ... | James Carr, Colne. |
| *Denton* ... ... ... | The Rev. A. Crofton, Reddish Green. |
| *Haslingden* ... ... | Henry Stephenson, Haslingden. |
| *Hawkshead* ... ... | Joseph Rawlinson, Ulverston. |
| *Lancaster* ... ... ... | W. O. Roper, F.S.A., Carnforth. |
| *Leigh* ... ... ... | W. D. Pink, Lowton. |
| *Leyland* ... ... ... | The Rev. W. Stuart White, Esh Vicarage, Durham. |
| *Ormskirk* ... ... ... | James Bromley, The Homestead, Lathom. |
| *Prescot* ... ... ... | |
| *Rainford* ... ... ... | The Rev. J. Wright Williams, Farnworth. |
| *Ribchester* ... ... ... | |
| *Rochdale* ... ... ... | Lt.-Col. Fishwick, F.S.A., The Heights, Rochdale. |
| *Sefton* ... ... ... | W. E. Gregson, 43, Moor Lane, Great Crosby. |
| *Southport* ... ... ... | H. S. Threlfall, 12, London Street, Southport. |
| *Ulverston* ... ... ... | |
| *Warrington* ... ... | W. Owen, F.R.I.B.A., Cairo Street Chambers, Warrington. |
| *Whalley and Pendle Hill* ... ... | W. S. Weeks, Clitheroe. |
| *Wigan* ... ... ... | T. R. Ellis, 18, King Street, Wigan. |
| *Winwick and Newton-le-Willows* | Rev. J. Carson, Winwick, Newton-le-Willows. |
| *Wray, near Lancaster* | Rev. C. L. Reynolds, Wray Vicarage, Lancaster. |

## CHESHIRE.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Bebington* ... ... ... | |
| *Congleton* ... ... ... | Robert Head, Congleton. |
| *Holmes Chapel* ... | Rev. H. G. Barnacle, Holmes Chapel. |
| *Hoylake* ... ... ... | Rev. Francis Sanders, Hoylake. |
| *Hyde* ... ... ... ... | Rev. J. F. Messenger, Newton Moor Vicarage, Hyde. |
| *Malpas* ... ... ... | |
| *Nantwich* ... ... ... | James Hall, Lindum House, Nantwich. |
| *Northwich and Middlewich* ... | Wm. Bancroft, Northwich. |
| *Thurstaston* ... ... | |
| *Wallasey* ... . ... | |
| *Wilmslow* ... ... | George Pearson, Tythe House, Knutsford |

# LIST OF SOCIETIES IN CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

---

Society of Antiquaries of London.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Royal Historical and Archæological Society of Ireland.

Royal Archæological Institute, London.

Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Kent Archæological Society.

Somersetshire Archæological Society.

Sussex Archæological Society.

Chester Archæological Society.

Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Society.

Leicestershire Archæological Society.

Yorkshire Antiquarian and Topographical Association.

Shropshire Archæological Society.

Architectural and Archæological Society of Lincoln and Notts.

Manchester Literary Club.

Suffolk Archæological Institute.

New England Genealogical Society.

County Kildare Archæological Society.

Thoresby Society, Leeds.

*N.B.—It is requested that notice be given to the Secretary of any errors, change of address, or death.*

# LIST OF MEMBERS,

*Corrected to November*, 1903.

The names of Life Members are printed in SMALL CAPITALS, and those of Resident Members have an asterisk attached.

| Date of Election. | |
|---|---|
| 1889. April 4 | *Abraham, Miss E. C. Riverham, Grassendale Park, Liverpool. |
| 1902. Jan. 16 | *Abraham, E. Mitford. 53 Bidston road. Birkenhead. |
| 1902. Jan. 16 | *Abraham, T. Fell. 53 Bidston road, Birkenhead. |
| 1877. Feb. 22 | Adshead, George Haward. Fern Villas, 100 Bolton road, Pendleton, Manchester. |
| 1895. Nov. 7 | *Allwood, T. Massey. Orrell village, Litherland. |
| 1889. Jan. 10 | *Alsop, J. W., B.A. 14 Castle street, Liverpool. |
| 1903. Jan. 15 | *Arkle, A. H. Elmshurst, Oxton, Birkenhead. |
| 1889. Feb. 21 | Arkle, Richard Naylor, M.A. 13 Old square. Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C. |
| 1895. Feb. 7 | Ashworth, Alfred. Horsley Hall, Gresford. |
| 1888. Mar. 22 | *Athenæum Library, Liverpool. |
| 1889. Feb. 7 | *Atkinson, Wm. Christopher. 8 Harrington street, Liverpool. |
| 1899. Jan. 19 | *Atkinson, W. J. A. Browside, Gateacre. |
| 1890. Jan. 23 | *Ayrton, William. 9 Cook street, Liverpool. |
| 1886. Nov. 18 | *Banner, John S. Harmood. Ashfield Hall, Neston, Cheshire. |
| 1901. Nov. 7 | *Barlow, W. H. 134 Prenton road West, Birkenhead. |
| 1889. Mar. 7 | *Bartlett, William. St. Clare House, West Derby, Liverpool. |
| 1899. Feb. 16 | *Beazley, Frank C. Fern Hill, Claughton, Birkenhead. |
| 1896. Feb. 13 | Beeston, Charles G. Long lane, Aughton, Ormskirk. |
| 1891. Dec. 3 | *Bell, Henry. Greenfield, West Kirby, Cheshire. |
| 1897. Jan. 28 | Bellis, W. R. North Madoc street, Llandudno. |
| 1864. Dec. 1 | *Benas, B. L. 5 Prince's avenue, Liverpool. |

| Date of Election. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1889. | Mar. | 7 | *Bencke, Albert Henry, M.A. Oliva, West Derby, Liverpool. |
| 1901. | Nov. | 7 | Bibby-Hesketh, C. H., M.A. The Rookery, North Meols, Southport. |
| 1901. | Nov. | 7 | *Bigland, Alfred. 84 Shrewsbury road, Birkenhead. |
| 1897. | Nov. | 4 | *Bingham, David A. 15 Brunswick street, Liverpool. |
| 1896. | Jan. | 16 | *Birkenhead Free Public Library. Birkenhead. |
| 1891. | Feb. | 19 | Birley, Major Hugh Arthur. Woodside, Knutsford. |
| 1889. | Oct. | 31 | Birmingham Central Free Library. Ratcliff place, Birmingham. |
| 1870. | April | 7 | Blackburn Free Library. Blackburn. |
| 1891. | Feb. | 5 | Bleckly, William Henry. Thelwall Lea, Warrington. |
| 1883. | Mar. | 8 | *Blundell, Rev. T. B. H., M.A., Hon. Canon of Liverpool. Halsall Rectory, Ormskirk. |
| 1888. | Mar. | 22 | Bodleian Library. Oxford. |
| 1890. | Nov. | 6 | *Bootle Free Library. Oriel road, Bootle. |
| 1888. | Mar. | 22 | Boston Athenæum. Boston, U.S.A.; c/o Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Paternoster house, Charing Cross rd., London, W.C. |
| 1889. | Jan. | 10 | Boston Public Library. Boston, U.S.A.; c/o Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. |
| 1881. | Dec. | 1 | Bourne, Robert W. 18 Hereford square, London, S.W. |
| 1891. | Feb. | 5 | Bretherton, Rev. Humphrey W., M.A. Eccleston Rectory, Chorley. |
| 1891. | Nov. | 5 | British Museum Library; c/o Messrs. Dulau and Co. 37 Soho square, London, W. |
| 1901. | Nov. | 7 | *Bromilow, Henry John. Green Bank, Rainhill. |
| 1876. | April | 20 | *Bromley, James, The Homestead, Lathom, Ormskirk. |
| 1902. | Nov. | 20 | *Brooke, Henry. 5 Falkner square, Liverpool. |
| 1888. | Feb. | 23 | Brooke, Sir Thomas, Bart., F.S.A. Armitage Bridge, Huddersfield. |
| 1881. | Jan. | 27 | Burnley Literary and Scientific Club, per Burghope, Strange & Anderson, St. James' street. |
| 1885. | Jan. | 22 | Caröe, W. D. 94 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W. |
| 1888. | Nov. | 15 | Carrington, W. A. Bakewell, Derbyshire. |

| Date of Election. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1900. | April | 5 | *Case, Robert Hope, B.A. 88 Mulgrave street, Liverpool. |
| 1891. | Nov. | 5 | Castle, Egerton, M.A., F.S.A. 49 Sloane gardens, London, S.W. |
| 1897. | Dec. | 2 | *Castle, Septimus. 12 Devonshire road, Birkenhead. |
| 1889. | Feb. | 21 | *Caton, Richard, M.D. Rodney street, Liverpool. |
| 1888. | Dec. | 13 | Chadwick, Edwin. Mottram road, Stalybridge. |
| 1879. | Jan. | 9 | Chetham Library. Manchester. |
| 1893. | Feb. | 23 | Chicago Public Library. Chicago, U.S.A. (Per B. F. Stevens, 4 Trafalgar square, London, W.C.) |
| 1900. | Mar. | 29 | Chorley Free Public Library, Chorley. |
| 1891. | Nov. | 5 | *Cook, Edmund. Oakfield, Abergele. |
| 1900. | Feb. | 15 | *Cookson, Frank. 30 St. Oswald street, Old Swan, Liverpool. |
| 1902. | Nov. | 6 | *Coventry, Harold. 1 Hamilton road, New Brighton. |
| 1895. | Dec. | 5 | Crook, John. 6 Waterloo road, Southport. |
| 1901. | April | 13 | *Crosthwaite, Charles C. The Nook, Town row, West Derby, Liverpool. |
| 1896. | Mar. | 26 | *Cullen, Hugh, Junr. Oakhill park, Old Swan, Liverpool. |
| 1899. | Mar. | 2 | Davies, Samuel. Alvanley House, Frodsham. |
| 1895. | Nov. | 7 | De Hoghton, Sir James, Bart. Hoghton Tower, Preston. |
| 1889. | Jan. | 10 | Dempsey, Miss Ellinor Mary. Sand Hey, Hoylake. |
| 1893. | Nov. | 30 | Derby, The Earl of, K.G., G.C.B., Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire. Knowsley, Prescot, *President*. |
| 1892. | Nov. | 3 | Detroit Public Library. Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A. (Per B. F. Stevens, 4 Trafalgar square, London, W.C.) |
| 1857. | April | 23 | Devonshire, The Duke of, K.G. Chatsworth, Chesterfield. |
| 1895. | Dec. | 5 | Dickson, Edmund. 2 Starkie street, Preston. |
| 1896. | Dec. | 3 | Duffus, George A., M.B. Carbis bay, Cornwall. |
| 1894. | Nov. | 15 | *Dunthorne, Edwin E. 27 Lord street, Liverpool. |
| 1888. | Mar. | 22 | Earle, Hardman Arthur. c/o Messrs. Mather and Platt, Salford Iron Works, Manchester. |
| 1888. | Feb. | 9 | *Earle, T. Algernon. Hartford, Cheshire. |

| Date of Election. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1851. | Jan. | 7 | Egerton of Tatton, Earl. Tatton Park, Knutsford, Cheshire, *Vice-President.* |
| 1898. | Nov. | 3 | *Ehrenborg, Harald. 49 Sydenham avenue, Liverpool. |
| 1891. | Mar. | 19 | *Elliot, Robert J. 111, Chatham street, Liverpool. |
| 1897. | Nov. | 4 | *Ellis, John W., M.D. 18 Rodney street, Liverpool. |
| 1891. | Jan. | 22 | Ellis, Thomas Ratcliffe. 18 King street, Wigan. |
| 1901. | Feb. | 14 | *Ellsworth, W. S. Ingleside, Blundellsands, Liverpool. |
| 1889. | Oct. | 31 | Esdaile, George. The Old Rectory, Platt-in-Rusholme, Manchester. |
| 1886. | Nov. | 18 | *Eshelby, H. Douglas, F.S.A. 80 Shrewsbury road, Oxton, Birkenhead, *Vice-President.* |
| 1848. | Nov. | 23 | Evans, Edward. Bronwylfa, Wrexham. |
| 1878. | Jan. | 10 | Fairclough, John. Latchford Grange, Warrington. |
| 1891. | Mar. | 5 | Farrer, William. Thornburgh House, Leyburn, R.S.O., Yorkshire. |
| 1871. | Jan. | 12 | Ferguson, William, F.C.S., F.G.S., F.R.S.E. Kilmundy House, near Mintlaw, N.B. |
| 1891. | Feb. | 19 | ffarington, Lieut.-Col. R. A. Mariebonne, Wigan. |
| 1888. | Nov. | 15 | *Finney, Charles F. Huyton House, Huyton. |
| 1880. | April | 1 | Fishwick, Lieut.-Col. Henry, F.S.A. The Heights, Rochdale. |
| 1891. | Mar. | 19 | *Fletcher, Mrs. Alfred. Allerton House, Woolton, Liverpool. |
| 1890. | Nov. | 6 | Formby, John. Formby Hall, Formby. |
| 1891. | Dec. | 3 | *Fox, John D. 44, Norwood grove, Liverpool. |
| 1875. | Jan. | 7 | Garnett, William. Quernmore Park, Lancaster. |
| 1890. | Jan. | 9 | *Gatehouse, Charles. Westwood, Noctorum, Birkenhead. |
| 1889. | Feb. | 21 | *Gladstone, Robert. Harrington street, Liverpool. |
| 1902. | Nov. | 6 | *Gladstone, Robert, Junr., B.C.L., M.A. Woolton Vale, Liverpool. |
| 1893. | Nov. | 2 | *Goffey, Thomas. Amalfi, Blundellsands, Liverpool. |
| 1897. | Nov. | 4 | *Goodacre, William. The Park, Ormskirk. |
| 1902. | Nov. | 6. | *Golding, Alfred D. Litherland Park, Liverpool. |

| Date of Election. | |
|---|---|
| 1900. Jan. 18 | *Gorst, Herbert C. 42, Parkfield road, Liverpool. |
| 1889. Nov. 14 | *Gregson, Wm. Eugene. 43 Moor lane, Great Crosby, *Hon. Treasurer.* |
| 1854. Aug. 31 | Grenside, Rev. William Bent, M.A. Melling Vicarage, Carnforth. |
| 1898. Nov. 3 | *Handley, William. Aldersyde, Runcorn. |
| 1890. Nov. 6 | *Hannay, A. M. Queen Insurance Buildings, Liverpool. |
| 1883. Jan. 25 | *Hargreaves, John. Egerton Park, Rock Ferry. |
| 1891. Feb. 5 | Head, Robert. West Lodge, Congleton. |
| 1872. Sept. 5 | Hinmers, W. Cleveland House, Lancaster road, Eccles, Manchester. |
| 1891. Nov. 5 | *Holland, Walter. Mossley Hill, Liverpool. |
| 1888. Dec. 13 | Hovenden, Robert, F.S.A. Heathcote, Park Hill road, Croydon. |
| 1890. Jan. 23 | Hughes, George. Metropolitan Bank, Oxford. |
| 1887. Mar. 24 | Hutton, Wm. L. "*Advertiser*" Office, Ormskirk. |
| 1891. Nov. 5 | Ireland, National Library of, c/o Messrs. Hodges, Figgis & Co., Dublin. |
| 1893. Nov. 2 | Irven, Mrs. John D. Dutton Lodge, Preston Brook. |
| 1890. Nov. 6 | *Irvine, Wm. Fergusson. 56 Park road South, Birkenhead, *Hon. Secretary.* |
| 1903. Jan. 15 | *Jordan, Rev. Andrew. St. Clare's Presbytery, Arundel avenue, Liverpool. |
| 1890. Nov. 6 | *Kent-Green, Mrs. Edward. Eaton Cottage, West Derby, Liverpool. |
| 1890. Nov. 6 | Kerfoot-Jones, J. The Bank, Hoylake. |
| 1897. Mar. 11 | Knowles, Mrs. Frederick. Belair, Birkdale, Southport. |
| 1900. Nov. 29 | *Kirby, Bertram Edmund. Overdale, Oxton, Birkenhead. |
| 1897. Nov. 4 | Lancaster Free Public Library. Lancaster. |
| 1903. Jan. 29 | *Langford, J. L 13 Union court, Castle street, Liverpool. |
| 1901. Jan. 17 | *Larkin, F. C., F.R.C.S. 54, Rodney street, Liverpool. |
| 1901. Jan. 17 | Lathom, The Earl of. Lathom House, Ormskirk, *Vice-President.* |
| 1888. Nov. 29 | Lawrence, William Frederick, M.A., M.P. Cowesfield House, Salisbury. |
| 1889. Mar. 7 | Leeds, Free Public Library of. Leeds |

| Date of Election. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1891. | Nov. | 5 | Letts, Rev. Ernest F., M.A. Newton Heath Rectory, Manchester. |
| 1892. | Feb. | 25 | *Lever, William Hesketh. Thornton Manor, Thornton Hough, Cheshire. |
| 1889. | Feb. | 7 | *Lister, Alfred Hamilton. Hillfoot, Breeze Hill, Bootle. |
| 1902. | Jan. | 16 | *Liverpool Library (Lyceum), Bold street, Liverpool. |
| 1899. | Nov. | 2 | *Liverpool Reform Club. Liverpool. |
| 1893. | Nov. | 2 | *Livesey, John. Springwood Lodge, Aughton, Ormskirk. |
| 1901. | Feb. | 1 | *Lockett, R. Cyril. 34 Alexandra drive, Liverpool. |
| 1889. | Oct. | 31 | London, Library of the Corporation of, (Charles Welch, Librarian.) Guildhall. London, E.C. |
| 1891. | Nov. | 5 | Mainwaring, Colonel Charles Salusbury, Galtfaenan, Trefnant, R.S.O., N. Wales. |
| 1898. | Nov. | 3 | *Marshall, Ambrose. 11 Rumford street, Liverpool. |
| 1888. | Feb. | 9 | Marshall, George William, LL.D., F.S.A., *Rouge Croix*. College of Arms, Queen Victoria street, London, E.C. |
| 1898. | Jan. | 20 | *Mason, George Percival. 9 Cook street, Liverpool. |
| 1891. | Feb. | 19 | Mayler, William. 142 Liverpool road, Birkdale, Southport. |
| 1887. | Feb. | 10 | *McKay, Professor, M.A., LL.D. University College, Liverpool. |
| 1888. | Mar. | 22 | Manchester Free Reference Library. King street, Manchester. |
| 1888. | Nov. | 1 | *Mansergh, Jas. Fleming. Clougha, Hargreaves road, Sefton park, Liverpool. |
| 1874. | Feb. | 18 | *Mawdsley, James Platt. 26 Castle street, Liverpool. |
| 1890. | Nov. | 6 | *Meade-King, Richard R. Sandfield park, West Derby. |
| 1899. | Nov. | 2 | *Muir, J. R. B., M.A. 17 Willowbank road, Birkenhead. |
| 1888. | Nov. | 1 | Myres, T. Harrison. 15 Chapel street, Preston. |
| 1897. | Mar. | 25 | New York, Public Library of. New York, U.S.A.; c/o B. F. Stevens, 4 Trafalgar square, London, W.C. |
| 1893. | Feb. | 9 | Newberry Library. Chicago, U.S.A. (Per B. F. Stevens, 4 Trafalgar square, London, W.C.) |

| Date of Election. | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1874. Dec. | 10 | Nicholson, Major Edward J. 16 Pulteney street, Bath. |
| 1889. Feb. | 7 | Owen, William. Cairo street Chambers, Warrington. |
| 1888. Mar. | 22 | Owens' College, c/o J. E. Cornish, 16 St. Ann's square, Manchester |
| 1902. Jan. | 30 | *Paige-Cox, Rev. W. L., M.A. St. Peter's Vicarage, Rock Ferry. |
| 1901. Feb. | 28 | Paget-Tomlinson, W. S., M.D., The Biggins, Kirby Lonsdale. |
| 1891. Dec. | 17 | Parker, Colonel John W. R. Browsholme Hall, Clitheroe. |
| 1891. Feb. | 5 | Pearson, George. Tythe House, Knutsford, Cheshire. |
| 1890. Nov. | 6 | *Peet, Henry, F.S.A. 97 Mount Pleasant, Liverpool. |
| 1860. Mar. | 21 | Petty, Thomas Shaw. 128 Mount street, London, W. |
| 1894. Nov. | 1 | *Phipps, S. W. Harlescot, Longland road, Liscard. |
| 1877. Dec. | 13 | Pierpoint, Robert, M.A., M.P. St. Austin's, Warrington. |
| 1890. Dec. | 18 | Pilkington, Sir George A., Knt. Belle Vue, Lord street West, Southport. |
| 1886. Nov. | 18 | *Pilkington, Lieut.-Col. John, F.S.A. Rookwood, Sandown Park, Wavertree. |
| 1896. Nov. | 5 | *Pilkington, J. Arthur. Heathfield, Maghull. |
| 1900. Mar. | 15 | *Platt, Miss Edith M., M.A. Standish House, Ivanhoe road, Liverpool. |
| 1898. Feb. | 3 | *Poole, Miss M. Ellen. Alsager, Cheshire. |
| 1900. Oct. | 25 | *Powell, Rev. Frank J., M.A. Knotty Ash Vicarage, Liverpool. |
| 1890. Feb. | 20 | *Prentice, John George. 62 Shrewsbury road, Birkenhead. |
| 1892. Feb. | 11 | *Price, William F. College road, Crosby. |
| 1889. Feb. | 21 | *Quiggin, John M. 8 Harrington street, Liverpool. |
| 1899. Jan. | 19 | Quinn, John, Jr. Heatherlea, Formby. |
| 1889. Oct. | 31 | *Radcliffe, Sir David, Knt. Rosebank, Knowsley, Prescot. |

| Date of Election. | |
|---|---|
| 1888. Feb. 9 | *Radcliffe, Frederick M. 9 Cook street, Liverpool. |
| 1896. Dec. 17 | *Radcliffe, John, B.A. 50 Ampthill road, Aigburth Vale. |
| 1879. Jan. 8 | *Radcliffe, Richard Duncan, M.A., F.S.A., Old Swan, Liverpool. |
| 1892. Nov. 3 | Radclyffe, C. R. Eustace. The Hyde, Wareham, Dorset. |
| 1891. Feb. 5 | Reynolds, Rev. Charles L., M.A. Wray Vicarage, Lancaster. |
| 1889. Jan. 10 | Ridgway, John Clare. Grappenhall lodge, near Warrington. |
| 1890. Nov. 6 | *Robinson, Arthur Muschamp. Lorne road, Claughton, Birkenhead. |
| 1891. Nov. 5 | Robinson, Lieut.-Col. Herbert J. Stanhill Court, Charlwood, Surrey. |
| 1901. April 13 | Rochdale Free Public Library, Rochdale. |
| 1876. April 20 | Roper, William O., F.S.A. Yealand Conyers, Carnforth. |
| 1901. Nov. 7 | *Rundell, Towson W. 25 Castle street, Liverpool. |
| 1888. Nov. 29 | *Russell, Sir Edward R., Knt. 6 Abercromby square, Liverpool. |
| 1870. Nov. 3 | *Rylands, John Paul, F.S.A. 2 Charlesville, Birkenhead, *Vice-President.* |
| 1874. Dec. 10 | Rylands, William Harry, F.S.A. Society of Biblical Archæology, 37 Great Russell street, Bloomsbury, London, W.C. |
| 1890. Nov. 6 | *Ryley, Thomas Cropper. 19 Sweeting street, Liverpool. |
| 1888. Mar. 22 | St. Helens Free Public Library. St. Helens. |
| 1872. Mar. 21 | Salisbury, The Marquess of, K.G. Hatfield, Herts. |
| 1888. Nov. 15 | Sandeman, Lieut.-Col. John Glas, M.V.O., Sub-Officer H.M. Hon. Corps of Gentlemen at Arms. 24 Cambridge square, London, W. |
| 1891. Nov. 19 | Sanders, Rev. Francis, M.A. Hoylake Vicarage, Cheshire. |
| 1897. Dec. 16 | *Scarborough, Charles. 8 Upper Stanhope street, Liverpool. |
| 1898. Feb. 3 | Scarisbrick, Charles. Scarisbrick Lodge, Southport. |
| 1894. Nov. 1 | *Scott, David. 10 North John street, Liverpool. |
| 1891. Nov. 5 | Shaw, Giles. 4 Ash street, Southport. |

| Date of Election. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1894. | April | 5 | Sheldon, Alfred S., Town Clerk. Burnley. |
| 1897. | Nov. | 18 | Smith, Bernard. Church street, Rainford. |
| 1892. | Nov. | 3 | *Smith, Rev. Frederick. Island road, Garston. |
| 1897. | Jan. | 28 | Southport (Atkinson) Free Public Library. |
| 1880. | April | 1 | Stanning, Rev. Joseph Heaton, M.A. The Vicarage, Leigh, Lancashire. |
| 1891. | Feb. | 5 | Stapleton-Bretherton, Frederick. The Hall, Rainhill. |
| 1899. | April | 13 | Starkie, Colonel Edmund A. Le Gendre. Huntroyde, Burnley. |
| 1876. | April | 6 | *Stewart, Rev. Alexander, M.A., Hon. Canon of Liverpool. 29 Sandon street, Liverpool, *Vice-President.* |
| 1890. | Nov. | 6 | *Stewart, Rev. Percy. M.A. The Rectory, West Derby. |
| 1891. | Nov. | 5 | Stonyhurst College, Rev. the Rector of, S.J. Blackburn. |
| 1891 | Mar. | 19 | Stubs, Peter. Blaisdon Hall, Newnham, Gloucestershire. |
| 1893. | Mar. | 9 | Stuttard, Thomas. Lawnswood, Swinton park, Manchester. |
| 1902. | Nov. | 6 | *Sutton, Percy Ryder. 27 Bentley road, Liverpool. |
| 1897. | Dec. | 16 | Taylor, Alexander. St. Mary's place, Bury. |
| 1898. | Nov. | 3 | *Taylor, Edward Russell. 67 Lord street, Liverpool. |
| 1889. | April | 4 | Taylor, Henry. Braeside, Rusthall, Tunbridge Wells. |
| 1887. | Feb. | 10 | Tempest, Mrs. Arthur Cecil. Broughton Hall, Skipton-in-Craven. |
| 1903. | Feb. | 26 | *Ten Bosch, John M. 25 Alexandra drive, Liverpool. |
| 1903. | Jan. | 15 | *Thicknesse. Philip C. 2 East Albert road, Liverpool. |
| 1889. | Feb. | 21 | *Thompson, Edward P. Whitchurch, Salop. |
| 1900. | Jan. | 18 | *Thompson, Miss. 4 Abercromby square, Liverpool. |
| 1886. | Nov. | 1 | Threlfall, Henry S. 12 London street, Southport |
| 1890. | Nov. | 6 | Tonge, William Assheton. Disley, Cheshire. |
| 1888. | Feb. | 23 | Toulmin, John. "*Guardian*" Office, Preston. |
| 1903. | Jan. | 15 | *Turner, Rev. J. Our Lady's Presbytery, Lydiate, Liverpool. |
| 1889. | Oct. | 31. | *Turton, Fletcher Thomas. Municipal Buildings, Liverpool. |

| Date of Election. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1890. | Dec. | 18 | *Van Gruisen, Nicholas. 27 Bold street, Liverpool. |
| 1903. | Mar. | 12 | Victoria and Albert Museum Library. South Kensington, London, S.W. |
| 1894. | Nov. | 29 | *Vyner, Robert C. de Grey. Newby Hall, Ripon. |
| 1889. | Oct. | 31 | *Wainwright, Thos. T. 13 Union court, Liverpool. |
| 1894. | April | 5 | Warburton, Rev. William. Altcar Vicarage, Liverpool. |
| 1892. | Nov. | 3 | Warrington Museum. Warrington. |
| 1903. | Feb. | 12 | *Watt, Miss. Speke Hall, Garston. |
| 1897. | Nov. | 4 | Wearing, J. W., M.A. Fleet square, Lancaster. |
| 1849. | Feb. | 1 | *Webster, George. 6 York Buildings, Dale street, Liverpool. |
| 1891. | Mar. | 5. | Weeks, W. Self. Clitheroe. |
| 1888. | Dec. | 13 | Weldon, William Henry, *Norroy King of Arms.* College of Arms, London, E.C. |
| 1856. | Jan. | 3 | Welton, Thomas A. 38 St. James's road, Brixton, London, S.E. |
| 1901. | Nov. | 7 | *Whatham, W. R. 24 Sir Thomas street, Liverpool. |
| 1896. | Mar. | 26 | *Whinnerah, William. 20 Wellington road, Oxton, Birkenhead. |
| 1897. | April | 8 | White, Richard Prosser, M.D. Standishgate, Wigan. |
| 1891. | Feb. | 5 | White, Rev. W. Stuart, M.A. Esh Vicarage, Durham. |
| 1889. | Jan. | 10 | Wigan Free Library, Wigan. |
| 1892. | Dec. | 15 | Williams, Rev. J. Wright, M.A. Farnworth Vicarage, Widnes. |
| 1896. | Nov. | 19 | *Williamson, James. Prescot road, Aughton. |
| 1885. | Nov. | 26 | *Wilson, W. Forshaw. 20 Croxteth road, Sefton Park, Liverpool. |
| 1865. | Dec. | 7 | Wood, Richard Henry, F.S.A., F.R.G.S. Belmont, Sidmouth, S. Devon. |
| 1891. | Nov. | 19 | Woodhouse, Miss E. D. Burghill Court, Hereford. |
| 1888. | Dec. | 13 | Woods, Sir Albert William, K.C.M.G., C.B., F.S.A., *Garter King of Arms.* 69 St, George's road, Warwick square, London, S.W. |
| 1892. | Nov. | 3 | Worsley, Philip J. Rodney Lodge, Clifton, Bristol. |

## ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

| Date of Election. | |
|---|---|
| 1893. Nov. 30 | Dolan, Dom Gilbert, O.S.B. St. Benedict's, Ealing, London, W. |
| 1888. Mar. 8 | *Shaw, George Thomas. Athenæum, Church street, Liverpool, *Hon. Librarian.* |
| 1894. Nov. 1 | *Waite, James A. 6 Fairfield street, Fairfield, Liverpool, *Hon. Assistant Secretary.* |

## HONORARY MEMBERS.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1870. Sept. 13 | Avebury, Lord, F.R.S., F.S.A. High Elms, Hayes, Beckenham, Kent. |
| 1875. Jan. 7 | Coughtrey, Millen. London street, Otago, New Zealand. |
| 1880. Oct. 5 | Dean, John Ward. 18 Somerset street, Boston, Mass., United States of America. |
| 1870. Sept. 13 | Hooker, Sir Joseph Dalton, C.B. The Camp, Sunningdale, Berkshire. |
| 1852. Dec. 9 | MacAdam, Robert. 18 College square East, Belfast. |

# ERRATA.

The following corrections should be made in Volume LII (vol. xvi, n.s.) of the *Transactions*.

## The Poole Family.

Page 165, line 18, *omit* "the return of."
Page 165, line 19, *for* "from," *read* "left for" Jerusalem.
Page 165, line 20, *for* "1223," *read* "1220."
Page 165, *add as a foot-note*, "Poole Hall is near Hooton "Station, on the railway line, between Chester and "Birkenhead."
Page 170, line 18, *after* "40 years," *add* "and more."
Page 173, note, *for* "Mayer Museum, Bebington," *read*, "Mayer "Museum, Liverpool."
Page 198, line 24, *after* "1793," *add* "and the Jockey Club "Plate, at Newmarket."
Page 198, line 24, *for* "The," *read* "A" cup.
Page 198, line 26, *for* "Potato," *read* "Pot-8-os."
Page 199, line 17, *for* "1587," *read* "1580; died 1584 (?)."
Page 200, line 15, *for* "London," *read* "Ely."
Page 201, line 1, *for* "baringe arreares," *read* "being arreare."
Page 201, line 3, *for* "seavenscore," *read* "seauenscore."
Page 202, line 12, *for* "Sir Thomas Steward," *read*, "Sir "Thomas Steward's wife."
Page 204, line 15, *for* "Cambridge," *read* "Cambredg."
Page 205, line 3, *for* "College, *read* "Colledg," *and for* "Cam-"bridge," *read* "Cambredg."
Page 206, line 12, *for* "about," *read* "in."
Page 206, line 35, *for* "Merton," *read* "Martin's."
Page 208, line 12, *for* "his," *read* "her."
Page 209, line 2, *for* "and," *read* "he."
Page 211, line 13, *for* "Hulme," *read* "Hume."
Page 212, lines 34 and 37, *for* "at," *read* "in the island of."
Page 213, line 29, *after* "36 Co.," *add* "S.D.," *and add note*, "The 36th Company of the Southern Division, R.G.A., "is now known as the 56th Co., R.G.A."
Page 213, lines 33 and 37, *for* "Geoffrey," *read* "Godfrey."
Page 314, after line 7, *add* "Translation. From the Registrar's "Office, Lichfield."

M. Ellen Poole.

# TRANSACTIONS.

## RISE AND GROWTH OF BLACKPOOL (1592-1792).

*By C. Roeder, Manchester.*

Read 27th February, 1902.

IF a mighty magician, versed in the black arts, by dint of his wand, could cast Blackpool under his powerful spell and make it invisible, or dissolve it into air, and instead of it re-people and re-construct the old fisher-place, as it was but 150 years ago, the novelty of this wonderful performance and transformation would strike the beholder no less than the gorgeous development of the modern Lancashire watering-place dazzles the stranger who steps out for the first time on its railway terminus.

If we take Speed's old county map we see, on the site of lower Blackpool, the stretch of a large sluggish pool, more than half a mile in width, and half a mile away from the shore—alive then with the whirr of the water fowl—that communicated with the sea by a little rivulet of peaty water, of liver colour, spanning 6 feet across its bed, and guarding the south. The Fylde, to which it belongs, was, in Roman times, inhabited by the Segantii, dwellers on the sea, and Fleetwood formed

an old sea-port of theirs. Roman roads passed in close vicinity along Kirkham to Poulton and Fleetwood. At a later period the district was ravaged in succession by Picts, Danes, and Scots, and its towns and hundreds laid waste and the population decimated.

Our earliest record of Blackpool goes back to 1416, when *Le Pull* (the Pool) was granted to the use of William Boteller, in the time of Henry III.[1]

Towards the end of the sixteenth century we get a little glimpse of life from the Parish Registers of Bispham and Poulton, shewing that there was then a slight population at the border of the Pool. We have the following entries :—

*Christenings—*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1592, March. | John *filius* John Broune de *Poole foote.* |
| 1602, July. | Rob$^{tus}$ sonne of Thomas Bamber de *Poole*, bapt. the viij. |
| Sep. | Ellen daughter of Thomas Cowban de *Blackpoole*, xxij. |
| Octb. | William sonne of Thomas Bamber de *Poole*, xxx. |
| Nov. | Richard sonne of John Roskill de *Poole*, bapt. xxj. |
| 1634, Sep. | William the sonne of Ric. Warbreck of the *Blackpoole*, bapt. xxiv. |
| 1640/1, Jan. | Lawrence, the sonne of Thomas Singleton of the *Blackpoole*, bapt. xxvij. |

*Burials—*

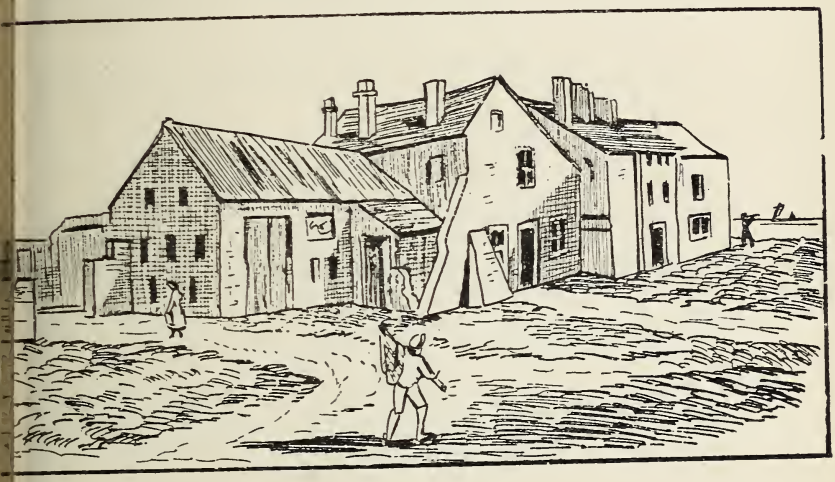
| | |
|---|---|
| 1594, March. | Issabel Hodgeson de *Poolefoote*, vid. ix. |
| 1640, Sep. | John the sonne of Rob$^{s}$ Jolife of the *Blackpoole* was buried the viij. |

On the northern side, at the outlet of the rivulet, there stood a substantial and neat family mansion, called Foxhall, the seat of the Tyldesleys, which in 1788 still formed the most southerly house and boundary of the rising place.[2] Foxhall was occupied in the beginning of the eighteenth

[1] See *History of Bispham*, Fishwick, 1887, Chetham Society; also, *History of Poulton*, Fishwick, 1885, Chetham Society.

[2] See Thornber's *History of Blackpool*.

century by Thomas Tyldesley, a scion of an old Lancashire country family. He kept a diary during 1712-1714, which has been published, 1873, at Preston. Although his entries do not throw any immediate light on the locality itself, or the people who lived at the Poole, we gain some information about himself, his pastimes, and his manner of life in the Fylde. He seems to have



FOXHALL.

been a quiet, plain, and easy-going country squire, who wanted but little to satisfy him. He was fond of the chase and angling, and apparently a great devotee of the cockpit. I give some quaint jottings from his diary :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1712. May | 6. | A-ffox hunting to Sullam. |
| | 3. | To the cockes at Conder Green. |
| June | 5. | Went early in the morning a-ffox hunting. |
| | 26. | To Roshall a-sea-pye hunting. |
| May | 16. | Went round the common a-ffowling, shot 12 times for one poor twewittee. To Thornton marsh after dinner, we killed ffive or six head of fowle. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Oct. 24. | Went a-hunting with Sany Butler's hound, saw 2 brace of hare killed. |
| 1713, | Aug. 29. | Otter hunting to Wire |
| | Sep. 10. | To Kirkland a-otter hunting. |
| | 21 | Went to the marsh a-hunting. |
| | Oct. 6. | We hunted th' hare ffive howrs. |
| | 16. | Went a-hunting to Ellal Moore. |
| 1714, | Mch 15. | Went a-ffishing to Head Nook Barne pitt, catched 13 carps. |
| | 26. | Tuke 8 brave large grown tenches, and 6 as noble carps, and have seen tuke severall pearch, some gudgons, and a large eyell, and 6 chevens |
| | April 13. | Went in the morning a-ffox hunting to Sullam. |
| | May 5. | Went early to see my breeding pond ffixed at Lodge. |
| | June 9. | Won 2*s.* 6*d.* at Dr Hesketh Cocks. |
| | 10. | To see the cockffeight, dined in the cockpitt with Mr Clifton, won near 30*s.* |
| | July 7. | Went a-duck hunting, tuke 3 young duckes and a cutt. |
| 1713, | Sep. 13. | Paid 6*d.* pro a little beagle (for hare hunting). |

He also built himself a schooner for the trade with Isle of Man.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1713, | July 7. | Made a bargen between Jo Wadsworth, Tom Few and Jo Twentiman ffor building a 60 tune ship att £1. 2*s.* pro tun. [The builders were all Manxmen.] |

Occasionally he visits, and receives the visits of, the old families of the neighbourhood, generally for joining the hunt, and an entry tells us he went to the Coffee House (in Preston): 1712, Apl 1st spent 2*d.* coffee; 1713, Dec. 10, paid "tine coffy pot" 2*s.* 6*d.*; he pays "for a pott of charr and a "barrel of cockles caring to Orfford 1*s.* 6*d.*" On April 24, 1712, W. Madrell, a Mankes (Manx) "macarel," dined with us. Again, "M. Madrell "and Evan Williams came to us, the skepper "of the ffrigot of 12 tuns, gave Evan Williams "8 duble botles to fill with brandy, gave him "a pice of beuff to take with to Iland" [Isle of

Man.] Spirits were then largely exported and smuggled over from the Island.[3]

1712, Oct. 11. Paid 1*s*. pro a new char and a janacke.

We get the first authentic evidence of the cultivation of the potato in the Fylde from his journal :

1712, Oct. 8. Paid 2*d*. pro pottetows.
6. Gave 1*s*. 5*d*. to bye eges, ffish, pottetowse.
1713, Sep. 19 Gave Mrs. 6*d*. to bye pottetows.
1714, April 10. 2*s*. pro pottetow setts to Hugh Walsh.
May 15. Gave Mrs 1*s*. 10*d*. to pay ffor pottatows, fish, etc.

He was an inveterate smoker, who enjoyed his clay pipe.

1712, Oct. 22. 2*d*. pro tobaco.
Nov. 8. To Preston for tobaco.
1713, Oct. 12. We smoked 2 pipes, and cos. Rob. Strickland gave us 2 drams of uskebath.
1714, Jan. 4. P^d^ 5*d*. pro tobaco pro Ellal Crag colliers—[where he had a coal mine.]
7, We satt smoking till past 12.
30 Gave Ned Mally 1*s*. to bye tobaco and candle.
Aug. 10 Paid 1*d*. pro pipe.

He was fond of gardening, and there are many notes such as, "busy gardening." He plants cauliflower and cabbage, which was once a popular Fylde relish.

1712, May 15 Paid 1*s*. pro 40 colliflower plants
July 24. Planted some colliflow^s^ plants, 100 savy cabage plants.
1714, Mch. 15 Spent 2*d*. in two wheat cakes.
June 26. Paid Ned Mally 1*s*. pro 2 sillibubs.
1712, Dec. 24. Dined of buttred eges.

Amongst fruit and vegetables we see mention made—

1714, Jun 14. Paid for strawburies 6*d*.
19. Pro caretts and peye 8*d*.
July 17. To Dick Mally for getting black cherrys 5*d*.
Aug. 20. Pro rasbureys 2*s*.

3 The Tyldesleys were intimately connected with the Island for many generations, in the service of the Stanleys.

Pig killing was always a great thing in Lancashire. We read—

1714, Aug 4. Wee spent 2*d.* each beeing invitted to a pige feast.

According to his diary, prices were for: "a neck "of veal 2*s.*; beef, 34lbs. 5*s.* [=2*d.* per lb.]; quarter "mutton 1*s.* 6*d.*; neck of mutton and calves head "1*s.*; two samon [salmon] 6*d.*; two woodcocks 1*s.*; "six king nosed ducks 2*s.* 6*d.*; a hundred weight "of cheese 4*s.* (from Wigan); a pint of ale 2*d.*"

A fine view of the old Hall, in its perfection, is engraved in the diary alluded to.

In his time Blackpool was inhabited by a mere handful of poor and weather-beaten fishermen, who had their few huts and cabins scattered along the cliff, which gave some colour to the otherwise dreary aspect. The row of cottages, known by the name of Butcher's[5] and Walsh's, which have disappeared long ago, were formed of clay and wattle, the roof and frame supported by crooks, and the interior open to the rushy thatch. There went up a large and capacious chimney, with a soot-loft above, for the stowage of lumber, and forming a canopy over the hearth. The interior was dark and low, the blackened rafters stored with provision of dried fish, bacon, and salt beef; and opposite the fire-place was the *chomer*, or chamber, and the pantry, and near the door your eye fell upon the *speere*, perforated with a small light, to guard the door and keep the draught away.

The natives were cut off from the outer world, and surrounded by big mosses and meres and swampy bogs; and along the shore a broad belt of white sandhills marked the outlines of the land. Intercourse was rare and scanty, and the people were still in deep superstition, and thus the night

5 See Thornber's *History of Blackpool*..

hobgoblins and *fereen* that haunted house and lane. ever and anon. greatly disturbed their peace of mind. Their habits were simple, and their speech rough and rude and full of grating gutterals.

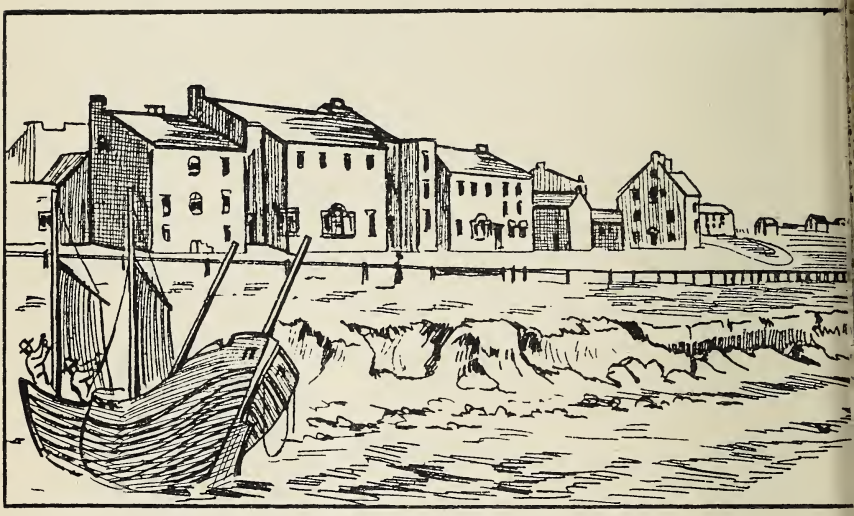
The women of the district then wore white or red homespun flannel and linsey-wolsey, and a round jacket and petticoat, and on holidays, stays fringed all round with tabs, and various coloured stomachers, and a hat adorned with ribbons, from which burst forth a huge mass of hair turned over a roll. Later on, this garb was discarded for a short check bedgown, tied with a blue "brat" over the stays.

In the western parts of the Fylde it was deemed opulent to plant half a bushel of potatoes, and that man was important who at Christmas could command a bushel of wheat. Boiled parsnips and peas were the chief vegetables, beans and ryebread was the common food. Jannocks, throdkins (a cake made of oatmeal and bacon), cobs and pikelins (a sort of muffin). and haggis, browis, and hot cockles were still dear to the Fylde.

There was even at that time some sea-bathing at the place, and also at Rossall, and the famous traveller, Bishop Pococke, who visited the county between 1750-1754, has left it on record that "at "Black Pool, near the sea, are accomodations for "people who come to bathe." Hutton learned that, about 1761, a little white cottage at the Lane End was the only public resort; and the spot occupied in 1788 by the coffee house, was a blacksmith's shop.

In 1769 the houses were still few and scattered, and to be counted up on the finger tips. There were eight cottages, and all of them, with the exception of Forshaw's Hotel, mere huts, and at the lane end of Blackpool eighteen battered buildings, which together composed the village. These houses

were still covered with thatch, every hut was fenced in front by a huge black stack of turf on one side of the door, while the family dunghill graced the other side. There was then not a butcher's shop or a baker's oven; all the little comforts of life, such as tea, tobacco, snuff, etc., had to be carried daily from Poulton. Three or four limekilns on the edge of the cliff indicated alone the timid intrusion of the prospector who had conceived a lust for improvement and expansion of the new-born bathing place.



BLACKPOOL IN 1750.

We have now arrived at an important turning point in the history of Blackpool, for Emanuel Bowen, the geographer, jots on his map of the county of Lancaster a little towered house on the north of the black pool—then still a very visible bog—with the definite name of Black Pool Town. This was in 1771. Mackenzie, the hydrographer, soon follows, and has inserted in his chart a row of

uncomfortable looking houses to show the situation of the rising sea-town. There cannot be any manner of doubt that the place had sprung into greater eminence by that time. It became an important lurking place of the daring smugglers, for the quiet disposal and discharge of their valuable cargoes. In 1780 a very lively traffic was kept up between the Fylde and the Isle of Man, specially from Peel, and kegs of spirits and all kinds of merchandise were shipped among the star hills about Blackpool, while sugar, from the West Indian vessels, passed into the Wyre; and all this was done under the very nose of the winking custom-house officers.

From this time the arrival of visitors and the growth of Blackpool assumed greater strides, and our information becomes fuller and more satisfactory. Communication with Blackpool from the inland was still hanging back, and rather irksome and difficult in 1777. Thornber tells us that at that time the highway to Preston was unpaved; in winter and in a rainy summer it became next to impossible to pass; the packhorse was the only mode of conveyance for grain or passengers, from that quarter. The roads were so foul that a blacksmith stood upon the road near Kirkham to repair any mishap.

Manchester contributed the largest share of visitors to this abode of Hygeia in the western borders of Lancashire, as a writer calls it in 1804. In 1783 we have the Manchester and Blackpool coach plying during the bathing season. Read the curious and interesting announcement in the *Manchester Mercury*. It runs:—

1783, June 3rd. The Manchester and Blackpool Coach,[4]

[4] This coach, under the name of the Post Coach, ran already, from the same Inn in Manchester, from Aug. 1, 1780, on Mondays, continuing every Monday and Wednesday, at 6 o'clock in the morning, to Bolton, Chorley and Blackburn.

from the Upper Royal Oak, Market Street Lane, Manchester, begins to run on Monday, the 9th of June, and every morning (Sunday excepted) at 6 o'clock, through Bolton, Chorley, Preston, etc. Performed by Math Pickford, Pointon; Jas. Weights, Bolton; Thos. Cooper, Bull in Preston.

1784, 6 July. Lower Swan Inn, Market Street Lane. The Manchester and Black-Pool Coach. Sets out from the above Inn every Monday, Wednesday and Friday morning, at 6 o'clock, dinner at Mr. Cooper, the Black Bull Inn, Preston, where it meets a diligence which proceeds to Black Pool the same eve. Inside from Manchester to Black Pool 14*s*. Performed by Mess. Dixon, Cooper and Co.

To reach Blackpool, you also could take the Carlisle Royal Mail Coach, through Preston, or the Lancaster coach which left every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, at 6 o'clock, passing through Bolton, Chorley, and Preston; the former conducted by Dixon and Co., and starting from the Swan Inn, Market Street Lane.

The love of music so ingrained in the Lancashire people is early evinced. As soon as this little seaside resort has taken a firmer root, concerts are held in the season; and as their announcement may prove of interest to the reader, I will give the notice, contained in the *Manchester Mercury*, in full:

1786, July 18th. Blackpool Concerts.—On Monday, the 14th, Wed., 16th, Friday, 18th of August, will be three concerts of music, under the direction of Mr Burchell, with the assistance of the Musical Society of Gentlemen in Preston. Mr Buckley (already mentioned 12th January. 1779, in this Manchester paper) is engaged as first violin; Mrs Shepley as principal vocal performer. Tickets, at 2*s*. 6*d*. each, may be had at the inns in Blackpool, where the particulars of each concert will be delivered previous to the performances.

Accommodation for the "Gentry and the Public" begins to be made on a larger and more attractive method, and town comforts and refinements receive greater attention, to make visitors feel quite at home.

1785, June 14. Lawrence Bailey Takes the liberty of acquainting the Public that he has completely furnished and

fitted up a commodious genteel house in an eligible situation, and that he hopes by his accomodations to merit the encouragement of such ladies and gentlemen as may be pleased to favour him with their company. N.B.—A bathing machine will be kept for the use of his friends.

This is followed by John Bonney, who, on the 1st of May, 1787, informs his friends and the public that

He has built a very large dining room, with lodging room for 20 beds, in addition to the House lately occupied by his father-in-law, Mr. Bickerstaff, which has been fitted up in a neat and commodious manner for the reception of families during the bathing season. Ladies and gentlemen 2*s.* 2*d.* per day each; Children 1*s.* 6*d.*; Servants 1*s.* 6*d*; Table beer included. Horses, Hay and grass per night, 8 pence.

But I must claim your indulgence and delay you a little longer with my list of caterers at this period, for every scrap that contributes to illustrate the rise of Blackpool is of local value.

1787, July 26. Mr. Sharples, Blackpool, begs to inform the public that he has fitted up his house in a very genteel manner, for the reception of ladies and gentlemen who resort to Blackpool during the bathing season. The house is very pleasantly situated and contains 18 lodging rooms; a coach house, stabling for 16 horses, and other conveniences. The Terms are:—For ladies and gentlemen, 2*s.* a day; children and servants, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Thomas Lewtas comes into view.

1787, 23 October. To be let for a term of years, by private contract, all that large and commodious and well established Inn at Blackpool, known as the *Lane Ends*, with the barn, stabling, and other out offices and conveniences thereto belonging, together with any quantity of land, from 12 to 30 acres. N.B —The house is at present fitted up with 70 beds and all other necessary and proper furniture, which may be had on a fair valuation, and if more agreeable, paid for by instalments. Further particulars to be had of Mr. Thos. Lewtas on the premises, who may be treated with on good terms.

A picture of Blackpool, with its bustle and throng, its doings and amusements, is presented to

us, in almost photographic faithfulness, by good old William Hutton, of Birmingham, who visited the place on two occasions in 1788—in August and October—and in his pleasantly-written *Description of Blackpool, in Lancashire, frequented for sea-bathing*, he throws Old Blackpool on the screen for us. The canvas is full of life and colour.

The number of visitors in the season amounted then to 400; there were about 50 houses, "about "six of them make a figure front to sea, with an "aspect exactly west and appropriate to the recep-"tion of company; the others are the dwellings of "the inhabitants, which chiefly form the back-"ground." The rest along the edge of the cliffs, scattered to the extent of a mile, arranged in a broken line; and among the popular rival hotels were Bailey's, Forshaw's, Hull's, Hudson's. The nearest place of worship was Bispham parish church.

The leading amusements consisted in riding and walking on the banks, and strolling upon the Parade, a grass walk on the verge of the sea bank, 6 yards wide and 200 yards long; where beauty and fashion strove to outdo each other in gracefulness and attraction, dressed up in the rich style of the day; the gentlemen in short breeches, buckled shoes, and cornered hats, the ladies in flowery silk or cotton skirts, and elegant high coiffures. If you wearied a little of the daily sameness of diet, you might run over to Preston to enjoy the Derby races, or attend the cockpit there to see a main of cocks fought, or just try the Wigan "Spaw," which had been opened with great ceremony, August 15, 1786, and there quaff the "sulphur water" to your heart's delight. To vary the diversion, there were cards and backgammon in the evening, a bowling-green for the sedate, and a little sailing and bow-shooting for the more active visitors.

The muses were not forgotten, for a theatre was improvised on the thrashing floor of a barn; and "*Sussarian and Dolan*, a tragedy," was the first piece that distinguished the boards of Blackpool. Rows of benches were placed one behind another, and named pit and gallery, the first 2*s*. and the other 1*s*. The house was said to hold £6. It was half filled when Hutton was present. A kind of Wakes was held, at the Lane End, every second Sunday.

A bell rang at the time of bathing for the ladies, and machines with one horse were used; when the ladies retired, the bell rang for the gentlemen to come for their briny plunge. Tea, coffee, sugar and liquors had to be found by the visitors themselves. At the fashionable hotels the terms were 3*s*. 6*d*. per day, at the inferior ones 2*s*. 6*d*.; others of a lower grade 1*s*. 6*d*. The sea retreated nearly half-a-mile at low water, leaving a bed of most beautiful and solid sand. This extensive ride continues for 20 miles: here the gentry of both sexes displayed their horsemanship. From the shore the builder picked up limestone boulders for burning his lime, and here the road-makers procured their boulders for paving the roads.

From an old print of Blackpool,[4] taken in 1784, we gain a very good idea of the appearance of the place. It shows Bailey's tavern, his bathing house, and bowling-green, and a little spring well, quite close to the shore; an alcove which bounds the promenade on the north side; Forshaw's tavern; Cook's tavern and the Post-office; Hudson's, Hull's, and Elson's taverns and Boney's wine-house, which make up the whole sea-front. Such was Blackpool at the time Hutton drew his sketch.

I come now to George Cooke, another conspicuous hotel keeper, whom we meet in 1791 in print;

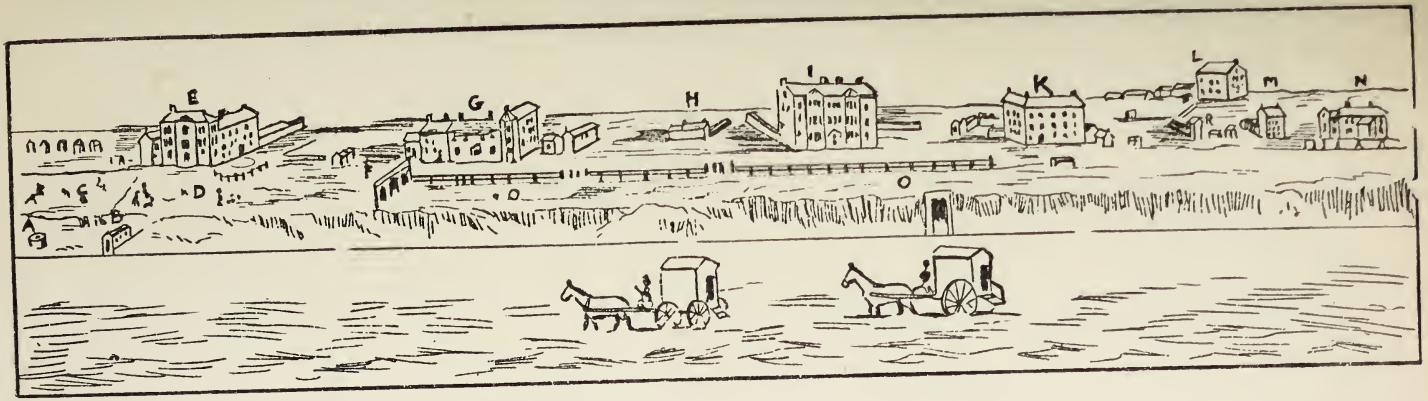
4 The blocks were lent by the courtesy of the Preston *Lancashire Daily Post*.

his advertisement, like the rest, is taken from the *Manchester Mercury*. We read :—

1791, 14 June. *Blackpool.* George Cooke returns his respectful acknowledgments to the ladies and gentlemen who frequented the place the last two seasons for the great encouragement he received from them, and as he now flatters himself his place is generally approved of, no exertion in his power shall be wanting to merit the future approbation and support of the public. He has commenced business for the season, and will dispose of, upon reasonable terms, Gunpowder, Hyson, Souchong, and Congou teas of the first quality; White's cocoa, coffee, chocolate, loaf and brown sugar, sago, tapioca, spices of all kinds and other groceries; Jewellery of the newest fashion from one of the first houses in London. An assortment of hosiery, millinery, linen, drapery, haberdashery, perfumery, and stationery; turnery, confectionery, bathing caps and dresses, etc. He therefore hopes his friends and all those who wish to patronize his undertaking will give him their preference in supplying them with the above articles. The public room will be furnished with a library of books, a large collection of copper plate engravings from Mess. Boydell, newspapers and magazines, etc., as formerly; and in the billiard Room is a handsome table and every thing necessary to render that genteel amusement agreeable to the company. Ladies may have anything made in the genteelest manner and at the shortest notice. He has also laid in a good assortment of all liquors and wines

George Cooke was certainly an enterprising and energetic business man; he is particularly to be noted as being the pioneer of forming the first library in Blackpool, perhaps about 1789. I hold in my possession one of the books that was part of his collection; it is entitled *The Schemer, or Universal Satirist, by the great philosopher, Helter van Scelter*, London, 1763, and bears his autograph, which is of fine penmanship. It is also adorned with his book label, which has the following inscription :—

*Blackpool Public Room.* G. Cooke having this season added to his library many useful and entertaining books, he requests the subscribers will be so good as return those they take out of the room as soon as they are perused.




WESTERLY VIEW, taken from low water mark, 1784.

A—Spring well. B—Mr. Bailey's bathing house. C—Archery ground. D—Bowling green. E—Mr. Bailey's tavern. F—Alcove. G—Mr Forshaw's tavern. H—Mr. Crooke's and Post Office. I—Mr. Hudson's tavern. K—Mr. Hull's tavern. L—Mr. Boney's wine house. M—Mr. Elson's. N—Old building. O—Public Walk.

Pasted over it is the ticket of the *Blackpool New Library.*

Terms—Week, 1*s.* 6*d.*; Fortnight, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Month, 5*s.*; Season, 10*s.* 6*d.* The proprietor thanks for the encouragement given to his undertaking, which has far exceeded his most sanguine expectations, etc.

Below Cooke's ticket another name appears: J. Haslingden, Bookseller, Cannon Street, Manchester—from whom he probably bought his store of books. The Blackpool Free Library, opened 1880, contains now above 11,000 volumes, with an annual circulation of 82,000, the annual income from rate being £1000.

In 1801 the population of the township of Layton-with-Warbreck had risen to 473 people, the major part residing in Blackpool; at present the stationary population has reached the significant number of 50,000, while the number of visitors in the season has risen to three millions. The town was incorporated in 1876, the first Mayor being William Henry Cocker, Esq., and the population amounted in 1879 to 6100. Its rateable value has reached to £428,995; and Blackpool has to-day 10,800 houses.

At present the crowd that visits Blackpool has caused many people to push out further into the country, for greater seclusion or more elbow room. Among such places is Cleveleys, a few miles to the north.

Modest competition with Blackpool was already tried in 1783; the *Manchester Mercury* has preserved a few notices:—

1783, April 8th. Anthony Salthouse, at Cleaveles, two miles from Poulton and two miles from Blackpool, begs leave to inform his friends and the public in general that he has very good accomodation for Company, the bathing season, at the abovesaid place. Those ladies and gentlemen who please to honour him with their company may depend on every effort in his power to render the situation as agreeable as possible.

1785, May 31st. Cleeveleys near Blackpool. John Salthouse respectfully acquaints the public that he has taken and genteelly fitted up the inn, or bathing house, called Cleeveleys, last year in possession of Anthony Salthouse, and that he hopes by proper attention, a disposition to please, and good accomodation of all kinds, to merit the patronage and support of the ladies and gentlemen who may please to favour this coast with their company.

1787, 26 June. Richard Bleving, Cliveless, left Liverpool and entered upon a well accosted public house, and also fitted up a convenient bathing house for the reception of ladies and gentlemen. Good stabling room for upwads of 20 horsesr,

1792, 22 May. To be let: a mansion house, situate at New Bispham near the sea shore, about 4 miles from Blackpool, 3 from Poulton, 2 from Rossall Hall, with a detached barn, stable and coachouse, out offices and yard, and any quantity of meadow or pasture ground, not exceeding 8 acres, late in possession of Mr. Lewtas of Blackburn, for the ensuing summer season.

I also add an old account, of 1786, of the resuscitation of a gentleman from drowning at Blackpool, which is of great interest. Richard Hall was a well-known Manchester surgeon, who, in 1790, was elected as a "man midwife extra-"ordinary of St. Mary's Hospital." It is copied from the *Armenian Magazine*, February, 1792.

At Black Pool, on the 7th September, 1786, as W. Tidd, Esq., was bathing (the weather being tempestuous, and the tide ebbing) he was taken off his feet, and by the violence of the waves involuntarily carried out to sea, to the distance of a mile. Some gentleman on the beach saw him, and declared the impossibility of his returning alive; and being exhausted he called out, but too late for any help to be given to him. He went down, and was carried out by the tide two miles or more to sea. A purse of 30 guineas was collected, and offered to the fishermen to recover the body, but was refused on account of the danger: when Messrs. Horton, Fenton, and Silvester launched a boat, and, amidst nameless dangers and difficulties, brought the body to shore in about forty minutes after he ceased to call for assistance.

The body when brought on shore was to appearance dead, as there seemed to be an entire extinction of life and vital heat; *(for those gentlemen who had observed him from the first, were confident that he had been under water forty minutes.)* His

eyes were fixed and greatly inflamed, and the pupils much dilated. Warm blankets were prepared, in which he was carried to his bed, made very warm. From the boat to the bed there was certainly the space of ten minutes; so that *nearly an honr* elapsed before the *re-animating process* was commenced; I insisted on the assistants only staying in the room. The apparent corpse was dried well with warm flannels; his head fomented with hot brandy, and bottles of hot water applied to the extremities; with the application of volatiles to the nose and temples. In about *forty minutes* a grumbling noise was heard in the abdomen, and the pulse could be felt, though extremely languid, and warmth seemed gradually to diffuse itself over the thorax, but the arms and legs continued of a dead cold. In about an hour and a half I attempted to get down warm broth by tea-spoonfuls; even at this time there was not the least power of deglutition, and the attempt gave him great uneasiness. His extremities continued cold and motionless; he spoke incoherently. Mr. Silvester intreated him to take a cup of broth; which he did not retain more than a minute, and from the instant of his vomiting, he became perfectly sensible, but had not the least recollection of having answered before any questions. The hands and arms became warm, but it was some time before his legs and feet were restored to their natural heat. In two hours from the time of his being put to bed, and *two hours and fifty minutes* from the time of his drowning, we had the high satisfaction of having this valuable gentleman restored to the world.

R. Hall.

# ANCIENT CHURCH DEDICATIONS IN CHESHIRE AND SOUTH LANCASHIRE.

*By J. Brownbill, M.A.*

Read 16th January, 1902.

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FOR the purposes of this essay the old Archdeaconry of Chester has been taken by itself, not only as an ecclesiastical unit, but as representing also an ancient civil division, that is, the county of Chester, including parts of Flintshire (and therefore almost co-extensive with the *Cestrescire* of Domesday Book) and South Lancashire, the "land "between Ribble and Mersey" of the same ancient record; which formerly constituted a peculiar district civilly, a kind of outer court to Cheshire. The Archdeaconry was thus another instance of the conservatism of ecclesiastical institutions, as exemplified otherwise in the use of language and vestments long since disused outside church.

In studying the dedications of the ancient churches of the country, the first question that has to be decided is one of fact—what is the dedication of this or that particular church? and then comes one of theory—what reason can be given for it?

It is not always easy—it is sometimes impossible—to discover to what saint a particular church was dedicated. Leaving out of account the alterations

brought about by the religious revolution of the sixteenth century, it is well known that many changes took place in earlier times. For instance, the numerous dedications to St. Thomas of Canterbury must in many cases have practically, though not theoretically, superseded older ones, which were in time forgotten and lost. In the same way Winchester Cathedral became known as St. Swithin's, though originally it was St. Peter's. In other cases there has been a confusion of names; for instance, the church at Aberford, near Leeds, was formerly supposed to be dedicated to St. Richard, but this has been corrected to Recarius, probably the same as Richarius or Riquier of Picardy. Then, apart from supersession or mistake, the dedication has in many cases been lost altogether. In our own neighbourhood, Bidston, Overchurch, and Heswall may be given as instances, though the churches there are now dedicated to St. Oswald, St. Mary, and St. Peter respectively—titles which have at least an antique sound.

One curious case of difficulty is at Runcorn. Sir Peter Leycester thought the dedication was to All Saints, on account of the wakes being held on that day, but afterwards confessed he had been mistaken, as he had found a deed of 1420, in which a certain Richard de Acton is described as "Vicar "of the Church of St. Bartholomew of Runcorn." From this case it would appear that the parish wake-day is not an infallible guide to the dedication of the church. Bishop Gastrell gives "St. Mary "and St. Bartholomew" as the dedications of Runcorn; but the modern building is dedicated to All Saints.[1] At Little Budworth the church is

[1] See Ormerod's *Cheshire*, i, 674, and 679 note. Gastrell's *Notitia Cestriensis*, i, 348, and note. The wake-day at Runcorn may have been influenced by that of neighbouring churches, Great Budworth and Daresbury.

now designated St. Peter's, but Ormerod calls it St. Mary and All Saints'; this, however, is possibly due to a confusion with Great Budworth.[2] At Thornton-le-Moors again the dedication is usually said to be St. Mary; but Gastrell and Ormerod both assert it to be St. Helen, and this is endorsed very emphatically by Mr. Helsby in his edition of the latter's *History of Cheshire*.[3] Again, at Tarleton, Gastrell mentions that the tradition existed of a dedication of the old chapel to St. Helen, and there is a St. Helen's well still existing there; this is confirmed by Mr. Raines, in his account of the Lancashire Chantries; but the later building (1720) was dedicated to St. James, and it is said the present one is Holy Trinity.[4] The church at Whalley, according to Domesday Book, was St. Mary's; later it was All Saints'—possibly a new building—and the editor of Gastrell gives St. Wilfrid as a third possible dedication.

Having discovered what in fact is the dedication of the church, the next step is to find a reason for it. This must arise from the religious devotion of the age when the church was built.[5] Just as naming a child at baptism after a particular saint is equivalent to placing it under the protection or patronage of that saint, and is an act of perpetual invocation of him, so in the case of dedicating a church the primary object was to secure the intercession of one of the Court of the Heavenly King on behalf of the parish and its benefactors. The choice

2 Ormerod, ii, 223, 224, and note, *cf.* i, 605. It is called St. Mary's in 1505 and St. Peter's in 1526; *op. cit.* ii, 625 note. The church at Alderley is also doubtful, either St. Mary's or St. Lawrence's; *op. cit.* iii, 570 note.

3 Ormerod, ii, 21, and note.

4 Gastrell's *Notitia*, ii. Raines' *Lancs. Chantries*, 173.

5 In later times political or partisan loyalty has to be remembered as a cause; *e.g.*, the dedications to St. Anne and St. George in the eighteenth century.

might be determined by the personal devotion of the individual builder, or might result from a desire, widespread at the time of erection, to honour a certain saint and invoke his aid—as, for instance, the dedications to St. Thomas of Canterbury, already mentioned. The latter cases are interesting to the inquirer, as they may afford a clue to the date of foundation, and they leave less to conjecture than the more general instances in which the personal devotion of some unknown benefactor has to be assumed as a cause.

Leaving theory for a time, let us consider some cases in which the history is known and the reasons for the dedications chosen can be seen. There is, first, the story of St. Augustine and his companions, sent by St. Gregory to evangelise our ancestors. They were Romans. In Rome the principal church was the Lateran Basilica known as *St. Saviour's* (later St. John Baptist's), the Pope's cathedral church, described by its inscription as "the mother "and head of all the churches alike of the city and "of the world." Next to this, and in some respects more important, was the Vatican Basilica, outside the city, on the other side of the Tiber, with its memories and relics of *St. Peter and St. Paul*, the two great Apostles whose martyrdom made the city a place of pilgrimage and reverence for all Christians. Then the missionaries themselves came from the Monastery of *St. Andrew*, on the Caelian Hill; this was their home, and to it their thoughts must often have turned in this land of exile. How did they dedicate their churches? The Venerable Bede tells us:—"Augustine having his episcopal "see granted him in the royal city [Canterbury], "as has been said, and being supported by the "King, recovered therein a church which he was "informed had been built by the ancient Roman "Christians, and consecrated it in the name of our

"holy Saviour, God and Lord, Jesus Christ, and "there established a residence for himself and his "successors. He also built a monastery not far "from the city to the eastward, in which, by his "advice, Ethelbert erected from the foundation the "church of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul."[6] Thus Rome was, as it were, reproduced in Canterbury. By and by, as the work prospered, a Bishop was established in London, where the church of St. Paul was built, commemorating the second shrine of St. Paul "outside the walls" of Rome; and another Bishop was placed in Rochester, with a church dedicated to St. Andrew, the patron of their old monastery.[7] No doubt other reminiscences of Rome could be pointed out, did we know the history in greater detail; for instance, Bede tells us incidentally that in a great fire at Canterbury, in 619, "the church of the Four Crowned "Martyrs" was in the centre of the conflagration, and was destroyed. This is another characteristically Roman dedication.[8]

Other missionaries also would dedicate their churches to saints they had been accustomed to honour at home, and St. Peter appears to have been thought specially suitable in the early foundations. St. Paulinus dedicated his first church at York to St. Peter, and York Minster still bears the same name, and its archbishops show the cross keys on their arms.[9] The cathedrals of Winchester and Worcester were dedicated to him, and the great abbey of Peterborough was founded to be a representation of Rome in the Midlands.[10] In the

6 Bede H.E., i, 33. The late Fr. Morris pointed out the meaning of the Canterbury dedications.

7 Bede, ii, 3. By forming at Westminster the monastery of St. Peter, the usual Roman association of the two great Apostles was preserved.

8 Bede, ii, 7.

9 Bede, ii, 14.

10 *A. S. Chron.*, 657.

Archdeaconry of Chester some of the very oldest of the parish churches have this dedication. In Chester itself the tradition was that the original church was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, now represented by St. Peter's in the centre of the city; Prestbury is another, and Bolton is a third. Ormskirk, however, St. Peter and St. Paul, is said to be later than the Norman Conquest. The church of St. Peter at Plemstall, near Chester, goes back to the little oratory constructed on a dry spot or "holme" among the marshes of the Gowy, by St. Plegmund, in the middle of the ninth century. There he prayed and studied and did penance, till King Alfred heard of him and promoted him, and at last he became Archbishop of Canterbury.[11]

In the story of St. Wilfrid we have further evidence as to the early dedications of churches. As might have been expected from so zealous a champion of the usages of Rome, his first monastery (at Ripon) was dedicated to St. Peter; but two others, at Hexham and at Oundle, to St. Andrew. This recalls an incident of his first visit to Rome, with St. Benedict Biscop, when he was a youth of eighteen. While there, we are told, he prayed fervently in the chapel of St. Andrew—perhaps in the very monastery from which St. Augustine and his companions had come forth—that he might have the gift of eloquence to spread the Gospel among his countrymen. On his last journey from Rome, when nearly seventy years of age, he fell ill at Meaux, and in a vision St. Michael appeared to him, reproving him because, though he had built churches of St. Peter and St. Andrew, he had not yet dedicated one to St. Mary. Perhaps we may be allowed to "rationalise" this story so far as to

[11] Plegmund died August 2, 923. *(A. S. Chron.)*

suppose that the archangel's rebuke was merely St. Wilfrid's own thought put clearly before him. He returned to England, and on being restored to his bishopric at Hexham, built St. Mary's Church, now long since ruined, near the abbey; he also built in the town churches of St. Peter and St. Michael.

It may be remarked incidentally that St. Mary and St. Peter frequently go together. They were anciently the patrons of this country, and honoured and invoked accordingly. Thus, locally, we have St. Peter's at Prestbury and St. Mary's at Stockport, the two original churches, probably, of their hundred; St. Mary's at Manchester and St. Peter's at Bolton; and likewise St. Mary's at Astbury, with St. Peter's as its principal chapel at Congleton; St. Mary's at Whalley with St. Peter's at Burnley.

Returning from this digression, it has been shown that in the cases of St. Augustine and his companions, and St. Wilfrid, positive and direct statements enable us to find the reasons for particular dedications. The mention of St. Wilfrid may introduce another reason of much historical interest, viz., that church dedications often preserve the sites of the labours of the early missionaries. To St. Wilfrid himself are dedicated the churches of Northenden, Mobberley, Grappenhall, and Davenham in Cheshire, and Standish in Lancashire, as well as those of Preston, Ribchester, and Halton beyond the Ribble. As we know that he spent much time in missionary journeys in Northumbria and Mercia—he was always a welcome visitor in central England—it is not too much to suppose that some at least of these churches are memorials of his labours. The Cheshire ones, in particular, form a group suggesting some such origin.

St. Chad was another zealous missionary, and some of his preaching stations may, in like manner, be commemorated by the churches now dedicated

to him. In his case, however, we have to remember that he was bishop of Lichfield, and regarded as patron of the diocese; thus, it is not remarkable that the churches of Farndon and Wybunbury were dedicated to him, for these stood on episcopal manors. This explanation will not answer in other cases, as at Hanmer (now in Flintshire) and at Over and Rochdale; and beside these there are the chapels at Chadwick in Tushingham, Chadkirk near Stockport, and Kirkby near Liverpool, all of them, it would appear, ancient. It may be added that there are but few churches dedicated to St. Chad outside his ancient diocese. This is curiously prominent in such counties as Shropshire and Warwickshire, half of each being in Lichfield; in the Lichfield half of Shropshire there are seven St. Chads and none in the Hereford half, while in Warwickshire the Lichfield part has three and the Worcester part none. Lincolnshire has three such dedications, but neither Leicestershire nor Northamptonshire has even one, though these counties, like Lincolnshire, were originally in the Mercian diocese. On becoming its bishop, therefore, it seems probable that he found most work in the west, and there accordingly his memorials are more numerous. He was bishop of Lichfield for three years only, 669-672.

To prove that it is not a mere fancy to suppose that in many of these cases the dedication of the church commemorates some incident in the life of the patron saints, the case of St. Oswald's church, near the Roman wall in Northumberland, may be mentioned. Here the noble king knelt to pray for victory, on the morning of the great battle with Cadwallon in 634, beside the cross which he had reared up as a signal of his faith. "Hither the "brothers of the church of Hexham yearly repair," says Bede, nearly a century later, "on the day

"before that on which King Oswald was afterwards "slain, to watch there for the health of his soul, "and, having sung many psalms, to offer for him "in the morning the sacrifice of the holy oblation. "And since that good custom has spread they have "lately built and consecrated a church there, which "has attached additional sanctity and honour to "that place."[12] There are also other cases, such as Felixstow and Bury St. Edmunds, where the name of the place is derived from some saint who lived or died there, or whose relics were reverently preserved therein. In the same way the biographer of St. Etheldreda relates that some of the places at which she halted on her way from Northumbria to Ely were marked by churches afterwards called by her name, as at West Halton near Winteringham and "Etheldreda's stow;" the latter place is not identified, but may be at Histon, near Cambridge. Many of the churches in the north dedicated to St. Cuthbert are supposed likewise to have been the temporary resting-places of the body as the monks carried it across the country, to avoid the Danish invasion, before it found rest in Durham (1004). St. Werburgh's at Chester is another case close at hand.

It would be interesting to establish some such link connecting the great churches of St. Oswald in this part of England—Oswestry (where he was slain), Malpas, Chester, and Winwick. It is easy to imagine that these were resting-places of his relics, as they were transported to Bamborough or to Bardney, and the chapel of Nether Peover, though later, would assist in tracing the route; but Brereton, further south, and Hinstock in Shropshire, cannot be brought into such a scheme, and tradition, which usually magnifies the antiquity of

[12] Bede H. E., iii, 2.

a building, does not carry the Chester dedication to St. Oswald further back than to Ethelfleda, the "Lady of Mercia." Such a dedication would be most appropriate in her case, for she it was who took pains to preserve his body from desecration by removing it from Lincolnshire to Gloucester, founding there a college of canons similar to that which she established in Chester near the body of St. Werburgh.

Yet another reason may be assigned for certain dedications—national preference—as in the case of the Santiagoes founded by the Spaniards in the New World. A writer in *Notes and Queries* has lately called attention to the churches of St. Clement, which he believes to be due to the Danes. He points out that one of the London churches so dedicated is distinguished as St. Clement Danes, and that many others are at seaside places where the Danes settled, as at Hastings, Sandwich, Skegness, and other places in Lincolnshire.[13]

What may be called affiliation supplies a further reason for certain dedications. When a new parish was carved out of an old one, the new church seems often to have taken the same patron as the mother church. Thus Backford, near Chester, is dedicated to St. Oswald, like the old parish; North Meols and Halsall both to St. Cuthbert. This may also explain why both Frodsham and Stoke in Wirral were dedicated to St. Lawrence. The latter parish, no doubt, was taken from Bromborough, and always independent of Frodsham ecclesiastically; but both Frodsham and Eastham were manors of the Earls of Mercia, so that the same religious teachers may have worked in both places, and the churches may have been built originally by the same benefactor.

[13] There is an ancient chapel of St. Clement at Chorlton, in the parish of Manchester.

These cases, then, in which we know something of the history of the churches, and can assign reasons for their dedications without simple guessing, may be classified thus:—(1) Popular devotion; (2) Reminiscence; (3) Commemoration of the dwelling places or reliquaries of the saints; (4) National preference; and (5) Affiliation. There is another reason, a somewhat doubtful one, which may have had an influence on the dedication of a church in certain cases: that is, a similarity of names, such as exists in Cheshire with St. Werburgh at Warburton, St. Swithin at Swettenham, St. Michael at Macclesfield, St. Boniface at Bunbury, and St. Bertholin at Barthomley. Here it is not always easy to determine whether the place-name is older than the dedication or not. In the case of Barthomley it is quite likely that the place takes its name from St. Bertholin, a companion of St. Guthlac at Croyland, who was reverenced (for some reason unknown to us) at Stafford, as patron of the town, and elsewhere in the county; it is possible that he was a native of the district. If Barthomley does take its name from St. Bertholin, the church will no doubt be of very ancient foundation, going back to the beginning of the eighth century. In this case, however, Bertholin may be merely a diminutive or corruption of Bartholomew. Bunbury may very well have derived its name from St. Boniface. The apostle of Germany, though a south-countryman, was well known in Mercia, and there is still extant his letter of remonstrance to King Ethelbald, when prosperity had had an evil effect on the king, and he and his nobles had lapsed into gross vice. The martyrdom of St. Boniface at Dokkum, in North Friesland, in 754, was hailed with great enthusiasm in England, and the festival began to be observed at once.[14] It is even possible

[14] Before the death of Archbishop Cuthbert, in 758.

that Ethelbald himself, before his murder in the following year (755), had been able to build a church to the memory of the saint, and the township which would grow up around it took the name of Bunbury. It is singular that another church of the same dedication should also have bestowed a name upon the place where it stood—Bonchurch, in the Isle of Wight. In the other cases mentioned nothing can be proved, but it seems more probable that names like Macclesfield and Swettenham should suggest the saints to whom their churches are dedicated, than *vice versa*; indeed, the dedication of the latter church to St. Swithin may be a modern fancy, for in 1845 the editor of Bishop Gastrell's *Notitia* gives "Patron saint unknown."[15] It is not known that St. Werburgh had anything to do with Warburton, nor even the canons and monks of Chester; and the chapel or church there is not supposed to be older than the time of Henry II, when its priory of St. Werburgh was founded, whereas the name of the township goes back to pre-Norman times.

These more general remarks having been offered for consideration, some of the rarer dedications occurring in the Archdeaconry may next be noticed. The church of St. Olave, at Chester, tells us of the Norse colonies at Dublin and in the Isle of Man in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Chester had considerable trade with Dublin, and just as there are now English mercantile colonies in the distant foreign ports with which we trade, so the Dublin Norsemen would have their little colony in Chester, near the quay where the ships discharged, and there they built their church, dedicating it to the king who lost his life through trying to establish Christianity among his people in Norway (1030). The

[15] The name of the place, I believe, really means a homestead on a clearing made by fire. St. Michael at Macclesfield is modern also; anciently the church was All Saints'.

church at Shocklach is dedicated to St. Edith. According to Fr. Stanton,[16] there were at least three saints of this name—of Wilton, Tamworth, and Polesworth. The Cheshire dedication is no doubt to one of the last two, both belonging to the diocese. Edith of Tamworth was a daughter of Edward the elder (901-925), and widow of Sithric of Northumbria, and her date accordingly may be given as the middle of the tenth century. She may have had a local *cultus* only, but Edith of Polesworth was well known; she was a daughter of Egbert, the first king of all England, and the date of her death is given as 836. St. Alban's, at Tattenhall, may very well go back to the time when King Offa restored the monastery of St. Albans (793); tradition affirms that this king built churches in Chester, and Tattenhall is sufficiently near to be included.

The churches of St. Bridget at Chester and West Kirby probably indicate a Welsh influence. At Chester her church is at the old gate of the road leading into Wales, and West Kirby from its situation must have remained Welsh till a comparatively late period. St. Bride is a dedication not uncommon in Wales and other places where Celtic influences are strong; there are, for example, five of her churches in Cumberland.[17] The presence of a St. Hilary's at Wallasey comes in support of this argument, for this, too, suggests Celtic influences, either Welsh or Irish. One of the derivations adduced for the place-name is "Welshmen's "Isle," and its isolated position makes it highly probable that its old British inhabitants would not be disturbed till after the rest of Cheshire had fallen under English rule. The date of this conquest is

[16] *Menology*, July 15, and note.

[17] Two in Denbighshire, one each in Montgomery and Merioneth; and several others in South Wales.

comparatively late; the West Saxons, coming from the south, penetrated as far as Nantwich in 584—that is, if we may assume the Feathanleag of the *Chronicle* to be Faddiley, a doubtful point—and about thirty years later Ethelfrid of Northumbria came down from the north and took possession of the district along the Dee, after he had overwhelmed the Britons at the battle near Chester, in which the monks of Bangor were slain. There is another church of St. Hilary close to our district, at Erbistock; and others in South Wales and Cornwall—all Celtic localities; also at Spridlington in Lincolnshire, where the combination of Hilary and Albinus points to Norman or Angevin influences.[18]

It has just been stated that the English conquest of Cheshire and its surroundings was effected from the south by the West Saxons, and from the north by the Northumbrians; both alike in a short time yielded to the Mercians, whose power began under King Penda (626-655). Northumbrian *rule* would last until the death of Oswald in 641, but Northumbrian *influence* probably much longer, and to this may be due the churches of St. Helen at Neston, Tarporley, and Sefton. The notion that St. Helen was a British princess must be given up; she was an Asiatic, and did not become a Christian till her son Constantine was emperor (*c.* 314). Then she applied herself with great zeal to restore the sacred places in Palestine, becoming famous by her discovery of the Cross. It would thus be very interesting if we could connect the dedication to the Holy Cross at Woodchurch with the neighbouring one to St. Helen at Neston. In many cases St. Helen and the Cross go together in a manner which seems deliberately adopted, as if the two

[18] St. Hilary of Poictiers, d. 368; St. Albinus of Angers, d. 549. In Scotland, there are churches of St. Hilary at Drumblade in Aberdeenshire, and at Fetter and North Yell in Shetland.

were so associated in the popular imagination that the one immediately suggested the other. Thus St. Helen's at Tarporley had a chapel or hermitage of the Holy Rood and St. Leonard close by; if there is a St. Helen's at Witton, the manor is known as Witton and le Crosse; St. Helen's parish at Sefton has Crosby as a constituent township, and the chapel of Holy Rood (or St. Thomas) at Melling in the next parish. The city of York contains or contained both a St. Helen's and a Holy Cross. But it does not seem that this argument applies in all cases; for example, there are five St. Helens in Leicestershire and only one Holy Cross, and the same in Derbyshire, while in Lincolnshire there are twenty-seven St. Helens to five Holy Crosses.[19] The church at Woodchurch may have derived its dedication from some cross specially reverenced in the district; there is a Cross Hill in Thingwall, and as the name of the township proves that it was a tribal meeting-place, the cross there set up may have suggested the church dedication at Woodchurch, and even that at Neston.

If St. Helen shows Northumbrian influences, St. Barnabas at Bromborough may point to West Saxon, for the few other churches with this dedication are all in Saxon as distinct from Anglian districts—two in Essex, one each in Berkshire, Somerset, Devon, and Herefordshire; there is also a St. Nicholas and St. Barnabas at Burmington, in Warwickshire. May not St. Birin, the apostle of the West Saxons, have had a special reverence for St. Barnabas as his name-saint, or may not

[19] For St. Helen see Stanton's *Menology*, Aug. 18. There was a Holy Cross foundation in St. John's, Chester, without any corresponding St. Helen, and a St. Helen's at Thornton-le-Moors without any Holy Cross. The Tarleton chapel of St. Helen is in the parish of Croston, but St. Helen's in Windle (now a borough) stands alone. At Warrington St. Elphin seems to have been corrupted into Helen, and this may not be a solitary case.

Barnabas, in some of these cases, be a mistake for Birin ?

In South Lancashire, St. Cuthbert's at Halsall is probably due to the Northumbrian influence already spoken of, while St. Elphin's at Warrington seems, like St. Hilary's at Wallasey, a distinct survival of the still earlier British occupation. It does not appear that anything is known of this saint. Some suppose him to be a sixth century Welsh saint of the college of Illtyd in Glamorganshire ; others think he must have been a missionary from Iona. The name, however, appears to be British, for an Elphin occurs in the legends of Geoffrey of Monmouth.[20] Taking the archdeaconry as a whole, the supposition that he was a Briton will not appear extravagant, for at Worthenbury and Hawarden the churches are dedicated to St. Ddeiniol, a distinctly Welsh saint, yet the place-names here are as English as Warrington, so that in the latter place also the old church dedication may have survived the English conquest.

The more common dedications to St. Michael and St. Martin deserve notice. They are usually ancient ; indeed some of the most ancient dedications in the country are to St. Martin, as at Canterbury. There are but two St. Martins in our limits : at Ashton-on-Mersey, just where the old Roman road from Manchester to Chester crosses the river, and at Chester itself : it is curious that one should be at Ashton and the other be called St. Martin's by the Ash. The dedications to St. Michael are more numerous, and that at Chester has a special interest. It is situated on what Mr. Thompson Watkin points out as the line of the old

20 Miss Arnold-Forster, in her recent *Studies in Church Dedications* (ii, 182, 551), is not able to give any definite opinion. The suggestion that Elfin may be a corruption of Elfwin, the brother of King Egfrid, slain by the Mercians in battle in 679, is difficult.

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south wall of the Roman city; it must have been placed just at one side of the south or river gate, with St. Bridget's at the other side, and St. Martin's—a soldier saint—on the same line further on. At Oxford, St. Michael's church is similarly situated on the city wall, its tower standing at the north gate and apparently forming a part of the defences. The dedication of a church so placed cannot have been accidental; those who built it desired to have the protection of this "Prince of the heavenly host" for their dwelling-places. In London, just within Ludgate, is a St. Martin's. At Canterbury, one of the six gates (the Burgate, on the east) was called St. Michael's, from a church standing close by it; another (the Northgate) was a passage under the church of St. Mary; and a third (the Westgate) had the church of the Holy Cross built over it. The Westgate is still standing, but the church has been re-built close by. Chester, therefore, would not be at all peculiar in fortifying itself, not only with walls and gates, but with churches, whose patron saints might be invoked to defend them. It is possible that St. Michael's at Shotwick has a similar origin; it may be noticed also that the chapels in the castles of Shrewsbury and Clitheroe were dedicated to St. Michael, and the castle of San Angelo at Rome is a further conspicuous instance.

Having thus reviewed the more interesting dedications of the old archdeaconry, some general statistics may be added. Out of ninety-four ancient parish dedications in Cheshire, twenty-three are to St. Mary, six to St. Peter, five each to All Saints, St. Bartholomew, St. Michael, St. Oswald, and St. James, and four to St. Wilfrid. In one respect Cheshire ranges itself beside Shropshire, Staffordshire, and other counties (*e.g.*, Buckingham) where the dedications to St. Mary are very greatly in excess of those to All Saints and St. Peter; in

Lincolnshire, on the other hand, the old dedications add up to St. Mary sixty-four, All Saints ninety-seven, St. Peter fifty-nine; and something like this is seen also in Derbyshire, the West Riding, and Nottinghamshire, though in the latter case the figures are more even. From this contrast it is natural to conclude that the ecclesiastical influences in Cheshire—at least about the age of the multiplication of its parishes—were southern rather than northern. The disproportion goes back beyond the Norman Conquest, for of the twenty-six churches mentioned or implied in Domesday Book, nine are dedicated to St. Mary and two to All Saints. In South Lancashire the case stands thus:—Out of thirty-five parish dedications, St. Mary has twelve (including Whalley), All Saints two, and St. Peter one, or two if Ormskirk be added. An extraordinary feature of this portion of the field is the group of ancient chapelries round Blackburn dedicated to St. Leonard. St. James has a large number of the more recent chapels. The difficulty is that, in many cases, the ancient dedications of chapels-of-ease and detached charity chapels are not certainly known. Chantry chapels, forming part of the parish church building, are not here considered; the dedications of some of them are curious, as that of St. Anthony at Wilmslow.

It would be highly important if church dedications could be used as a means of dating the parishes, at least approximately. But this is usually beyond our power. In some cases a limit can be fixed; for instance, a dedication to St. Olave cannot be dated before 1030, yet, as has been already pointed out, in such cases the church itself may be older than the dedication it now bears, a newer and more popular one having replaced the original one in general usage. The devotion to St. Mary is so ancient and enduring that no argument can be based

on dedications to her: but St. Peter, St. Michael, and St. Martin seem frequently to be ancient. St. Bartholomew was specially revered by St. Guthlac, the famous Mercian hermit of the seventh and eighth centuries, but it is doubtful if more than one or two of the local churches dedicated to him are very ancient—Runcorn, Wilmslow, Church Minshull, Barrow, and Thurstaston in Cheshire, and Radcliffe in Lancashire. The dedications to St. Wilfrid, St. Chad, St. Bertholin, and St. Boniface, as was argued above, may in some or most cases go back to the age of those saints, and those of St. Bridget, St. Hilary, and St. Elphin may even precede English Christianity and take us into the sixth century, before the British tribes in this remote part of the island had been disturbed by the invaders, and while St. Kentigern and St. Asaph were engaged in restoring or preserving the Christian faith among the older population.

The festival of All Saints, according to Fr. Stanton,[21] had not extended itself before the visit of Pope Gregory IV to France, in 837. This is the period of the Danish invasion of our island, a period when many churches were destroyed and few built, so that the numerous All Saints' churches in England must be referred to a period later than this, when those who had ruthlessly destroyed churches and monasteries became Christians, and had settled down peaceably beside the older possessors of the soil. Holy Trinity is a still later dedication; the single ancient parish church in the archdeaconry bearing this dedication is that in Chester, and the earliest mention[22] of this is later than the time of St. Thomas of Canterbury, who is said to have

[21] *Menology*, p. 678. The principal churches in this district so dedicated are all in Domesday Book—Great Budworth, Childwall, and Wigan.

[22] "Before 1188," Ormerod's *Cheshire*, i, 327. The earliest mention of a festival of the Holy Trinity is at Liège, about the year 910.

been the first to establish the regular celebration of the festival of the Trinity on the day on which it is still kept, the octave of Whit Sunday.

Another dedication, which may be later than the Conquest, is that of St. James—it does not appear which of the two apostles is intended. There are seven of them in Cheshire—Audlem, Ince, Christleton, Taxal, and Gawsworth, and the chapelries of Marton and Woodhead in Tintwisle—the last named is only of the fifteenth century; and in Lancashire only one parish, and that of late formation, viz., Brindle; but, as mentioned above, a large number of the later chapelries in East Lancashire are dedicated to St. James. In the case of Cheshire it is noticeable that five—Ince, Christleton, Taxal,[23] and Gawsworth, and Marton chapel,[24] were all connected with St. Werburgh's at Chester, and the first four were not formed into parishes till after the Conquest, so that their dedications must be due to the monks. There was also a chapel of St. James by St. John's, Chester, and Birkenhead priory, founded about 1150, was dedicated to him.

On the whole, a review of the church dedications of the district shows that our forefathers were very "old-fashioned" in their dedications. Even the chapelries and more recent parishes, prior to the sixteenth century, show little desire to honour saints who had become popular elsewhere. The following are instances:—

The famous St. Thomas of Canterbury had in Cheshire only a small chapel outside the Northgate at Chester and a hospital at Spital in Wirral, both now things of the past; in Lancashire the churches of Upholland and Ashton-in-Makerfield, unless indeed the latter is St. Thomas the apostle.

23 Taxal is called St. Leonard's in 1547; Helsby's *Ormerod*, iii, 782 note.

24 Called St. Paul's, *Ormerod*, iii, 726.

St. Mary Magdalene, elsewhere popular, had no church or chapel in Cheshire,[25] and only the chapel of Clitheroe in Lancashire.

St. Catherine is represented only by chantry chapels at Lydiate and Blackrod.

St. Anne had a confraternity and chapel connected with St. John's at Chester, and a chapel at Nantwich.

St. Giles had a hospital in Boughton, just outside the eastern suburb of Chester; but it has now disappeared.

St. Nicholas had the parish church of Burton in Wirral, and chapels at Chester and Nantwich; and in Lancashire the chapels at Liverpool and Newchurch in Rossendale.[26] He was the patron of mariners, and the dedication at Liverpool is no doubt due to that, and perhaps the Burton dedication also.

It is possible that the people were too much out of the way to be influenced by the emotions of the times. Even in political matters they do not seem to have taken much part till the fourteenth and fifteenth century, the age of Sir Hugh de Calveley and the Wars of the Roses. The country was no doubt poor, and the population very scanty; they had no great leaders and produced no saints. Hence their comparative backwardness. Hence, also, the importance of their testimony to the devotions and popular customs of times long past. They changed but little, so that if we could get a good picture of Cheshire in the early part of the fourteenth century, we might be able to judge better what was the condition of the more progressive parts of England in times long anterior to that.

[25] A side altar in the south transept of St. Werburgh's (*i. e.*, St. Oswald's parish church), was so dedicated.

[26] According to Gastrell, the dedication here was Holy Trinity.

## LIST OF CHURCH DEDICATIONS.

*Taken from Bp. Gastrell's "Notitia Cestriensis," (1714-25), edited for the Chetham Society by Canon F. R. Raines (1845-50.)*

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*a*, Ancient parish churches ; *b*, Subordinate churches which had become parochial ; *c*, Chapelries, etc.

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* Church mentioned or implied in Domesday Book : the only Cheshire dedications it specially gives are St. Werburgh, St. Peter, and St. John at Chester ; in Lancashire it names St. Mary at Manchester, Blackburn, and Whalley, St Michael at Ashton-under-Lyne, St. Oswald at Winwick, and St. Elphin at Warrington.

† Where the dedication is given by the editor of Gastrell as "unknown," the patron assigned to the church in the current gazetteers is added within parenthesis ; some of them may be the ancient patrons.

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### CHESHIRE,

Holy Trinity ...*a*, Chester. *c*, Capesthorne (new in 1722).

Holy Cross ... ..*a*, *Woodchurch. *c*, Tarporley (hermitage, destroyed) ; St. John's, Chester (?).

St. Mary ..... *a*, *Acton, *Astbury, *Bowdon, Cheadle, Chester, Coddington, Doddleston, Eccleston, *Lymm, Neston (SS. Mary and Helen), Pulford, *Rostherne, *Sandbach, Stockport, Tilston, *Weaverham, Overton-on-Dee ; *Thornton-le-Moors and Overchurch doubtful.

*b*, Alderley (?), Eastham, Nantwich, Whitegate, Wistaston. *c*, Birkenhead (ex.-par.), Alvanley (?), Bruera (Church-on-Heath), Disley. Halton, Poynton, Goostrey (? St. Luke), also Norton (?), Arley Park (in Great Budworth), Cattenhall (Frodsham), chapels in St Werburgh's and St. John's, Chester, and elsewhere.

Alban ... .....*a*, Tattenhall.

All Saints .....*a*, *Great Budworth, Handley. *b*, Harthill, Church Lawton. *c*, *Daresbury, Thelwall (? domestic), Ringhey (in Bowdon), Marple, Siddington, and Macclesfield (ancient).

Andrew.....*a*, *Bebington, Tarvin. *c*, Denwall (hospital).

Anne .....*c*, St. John's, Chester (destroyed), Nantwich (by the bridge).
Barnabas ..... ..*a*, *Bromborough.
Bartholomew ...*a*, *Runcorn (or SS. Mary and Bartholomew), Thurstaston, Wilmslow. *b*, Barrow, Church Minshull.
Bertholin .....*a*, *Barthomley.
Boniface .....*a*, *Bunbury.
Bridget .....*a*, Chester, West Kirby.
Chad.....*a*, Farndon, *Hanmer, Over, *Wybunbury.
*c*, Chadkirk (in Romiley), Tushingham (Chadwick), Chester (in Holy Trin. destroyed).
Ddeiniol .....*a*, *Hawarden, Worthenbury.
Dinawd.....*a*, Bangor-on-Dee.
Edith.....*a*, Shocklach.
George .....*c*, Chester (in St Bridget's parish; guild chapel; destroyed).
Giles .....*c*, Spital Boughton (Chester; hospital; destroyed).
Helen .. ..... *a*, Tarporley, *Thornton-le-Moors (? St. Mary), *Neston (SS. Mary and Helen),
*c*, Witton (Northwich).
Hilary .....*a*, Wallasey.
Hildeburgh .....*c*, Hilbre (?).
James ..... *a*, Audlem, Ince. *b*, Christleton, Gawsworth, Taxal (?) *c*, Chester, St. John's (destroyed), Marton (?), Woodhead; also Birkenhead Priory.
John Baptist.....*a*, Aldford, *Chester, Guilden Sutton (?).
*c*, Chester (Little St. John's, hospital), Nether Knutsford, High Legh (West Hall ?
Lawrence .....*a*, *Frodsham, Stoke.
Perhaps *b*, Alderley, should be added.
*c*, Over Peover, Nantwich (hospital).
Leonard .....*a*, Warmingham. *b*, Taxal (? St. James).
*c*, Tarporley (Holy Cross and St. Leonard. hermitage).
Luke .....*c*, Goostrey (? St. Mary), Church Hulme.
Margaret .....*c*, Wrenbury.
Martin .....*a*, Chester. *b*, Ashton-on-Mersey.
Matthew .....*c*, Haslington.
Michael.....*a*, Chester, Baddiley, *Middlewich, Mottram-in-Longdendale, Shotwick.
*b*, Coppenhall, Marbury (from Whitchurch parish). *c*, Macclesfield (modern), Hargrave in Tarvin (?).

Nicholas .....*a*, *Burton (Wirral). *c*, Chester (in St. Oswald's), Nantwich (hospital).
Olave.....*a*, Chester.
Oswald .....*a*, *Chester, Backford, Malpas ; doubtful, Bidston. *b*, Brereton *c*, Nether Peover.
Paul .....*c*, Marton (? St. James).
Peter .....*a*, *Chester, Plemstall, Prestbury, Waverton; doubtful, Heswall,
*b*, Little Budworth (? St. Mary).
*c*, Congleton, Aston in Runcorn (?), Hargrave in Tarvin (? St. Michael).
Swithin .....*b*, Swettenham (? modern).
Thomas Apostle. *c*, Chester (within St. Werburgh's precinct).
Thomas of Canterbury. *c*, Chester (in St. Peter's, outside Northgate), Spital (in Bebington) ; both destroyed.
Ursula .....*c*, Chester (confraternity ; chapel doubtful).
Werburgh .....*a*, *Chester, *c*, Warburton.
Wilfrid .....*a*, *Davenham, Grappenhall, Mobberley, *Northenden.

Unknown † .....*a*, Guilden Sutton (? St. John Baptist), Bidston (? St. Oswald), Heswall (? St. Peter), Overchurch (? St. Mary).
*b*, Swettenham (? St. Swithin).
*c*, Adlington (dom. chapel), Alvanley (St. Mary, *Lewis*), Bosley (? St. Mary), Boughton (destroyed), Burleydam (? Michael), Chapel in the Forest, Chelford, Cholmondeley ( ? domestic), Congleton (chapel by the Bridge), Duckinfield ( ? domestic), Hilbre (? Hildeburgh), Little Leigh (Michael), Moreton (in Bidston ; destroyed), Nether Tabley (destroyed), Nether Whitley, Newton (in Prestbury; ruined), Norbury (Thomas), Over Knutsford (taken down), Over Tabley (desecrated, 1722), Poosey (in Runcorn ; ruined), Pott Shrigley, Poulton (in Pulford ; destroyed), Somerford (new in 1722), Stretton (ruined in 1722), Wettenhall (David), Wervin (destroyed), Whitewell (in Malpas, but over the border of the county), Wincle (Michael), Woodhey (domestic).

SOUTH LANCASHIRE.

Holy Trinity ...*b*, Warrington (1709).
*c*, Horwich, Salford (1634), Ringley (1634), Shaw, Littleborough, Todmorden, Newchurch in Rossendale (?).
Christ Church ...*c*, Walmisley (?), Cockey (in Ainsworth).
Holy Rood .. ...*c*, Melling (? St. Thomas).
St. Mary ..... ...*a*, *Manchester (old dedication), *Blackburn, Bury, Eccles, Leigh, Prescot, Prestwich, *Walton-on-the-Hill, *Whalley (old).
*b*, Dean, Eccleston, Penwortham, Liverpool (SS. Mary and Nicholas). *c*, Oldham, West Houghton (?), Hale, Sankey (c. 1640), West Derby, Rufford, Newchurch-in-Pendle. Goodshaw (St. Mary and All Saints), Douglas (Parbold).
All Saints .....*a*, *Childwall, *Wigan, Whalley (later).
*c*, Newton (Manchester), and Goodshaw.
Andrew..... .....*a*, *Leyland.
Anne ..... .. ...*b*, Manchester (1712).
Bartholomew ...*a*, Radcliffe. *c*, Turton (Bolton), Colne, Great Harwood, West Houghton(?), Whitworth.
Catherine ..... . *c*, Blackrod, Lydiate (chantry).
Clement.....*c*, Chorlton.
Chad .....*a*, Rochdale. *c*, Saddleworth, Kirkby.
Cuthbert .....*a*, Halsall. *b*, North Meols.
Elphin ..... ..*a*, *Warrington (later, St. Helen).
Helen ..... . ...*a*, Sefton
*c*, Windle (St. Helens), Tarleton (old).
James ..... ..*b*, Brindle. *c*, Accrington, Altham, Ashworth, Birch, Church, Darwen, Denton (1531), Gorton, Haslingden, Milnrow, Tarleton (1720)
John (? Baptist)..*c*, Didsbury, Lathom.
John Baptist.....*c*, Chowbent (1645).
Leonard .....*a*, Middleton.
*c*, Balderston, Downham, Padiham, Samlesbury, Walton-in-the-Dale (or Lowe).
Lawrence .. .....*c*, Chorley.
Luke .. .....*c*, Heywood (?), Great Crosby (modern)
Mary Magdalene.*c*, Clitheroe.
Matthew .....*c*, Stretford.
Michael .....*a*, Aughton, Croston, Huyton. *b*, Altcar, *Ashton-under-Lyne, Flixton, Hoole.
*c*, Clitheroe Castle, Garston, Great Crosby (old).

Nicholas .....*c*, Liverpool (SS. Mary and Nicholas), Newchurch in Rossendale (? Holy Trinity).
Oswald ..... *a*, *Winwick.
Peter..... .....*a*, Bolton. *b*, Liverpool (1700). *c*, Blakeley (in Manchester), Barkley, Newton-in-Makerfield.
Peter and Paul...*a*, Ormskirk.
Stephen.....*c*, Astley (1631), Tockholes (in Blackburn).
Thomas of Canterbury. *c*. Upholland (1310), Ashton-in-Makerfield (? St. Thomas, Apostle).
Wilfrid ..... *a*, Standish. *c*, Farnworth (in Prescot).

Unknown † (all chapelries).—Beconsall, Billinge, Bradshaw (Maxentius), Burtonwood (Michael), Coppul (no patron), Euxton, Formby (Peter), Edenfield, Ellenbrook, Holme in Burnley (John), Heapey (Barnabas), Holcombe (Emmanuel), Hollinfare (Helen), Hindley (All Saints), Lango (Leonard), Longton (Andrew), Marsden (John), Maghull (Andrew), Newchurch or Culcheth, Rivington (Holy Trinity), Rainford (All Saints), Toxteth-park, Whitwell in Bolland.

# CHESTER, BIRKENHEAD, & LIVERPOOL IN THE PATENT AND CLOSE ROLLS OF THE THREE EDWARDS.

*By J. H. Lumby, B.A.*

Read 20th November, 1902.

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THIS paper is an attempt to read the history of the locality of the last decades of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century by the light of the *Letters Patent* and *Close* issued in the reigns of the three Edwards. For this purpose, I have used the excellent Calendars now in process of publication by the Record Commissioners, and produced under the superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records, H. Maxwell Lyte, Esq. The series are not yet complete. What is available covers, in the *Patent Rolls*, the whole of Edward I, (4 vols.), 10 years of Edward II, (2 vols.), 18 years of Edward III, (6 vols.); and in the *Close Rolls*, 16 years of Edward I, (2 vols.), the whole of Edward II, (4 vols.), and 16 years of Edward III, (6 vols.) [The marginal notes refer to the pages of these volumes.]

A fairly close acquaintance with the series enables me to testify to the excellence of the work done in publishing these Rolls. The epitome of

each Letter omits nothing which the genealogis the philologist, or the historian requires, and th Indexes are monuments of accurate and scholarl cataloguing. I have found in the whole of the 2 vols. only one error, that of "Ives" for "Ines" (Ince —a mistake which the most trifling knowledge o the locality can correct, and which cannot be calle a palæographical error. The two series supple ment each other. The *Patent Rolls*, which are o a public nature and are generally addressed to al persons, contain grants and privileges to corpora tions and individuals. and cover a wide field ir ecclesiastical, judicial, and political history, whil the *Close Rolls*, addressed to particular persons, and of a more or less private nature, are intimatel concerned with the functions of every branch of the administration—judicial, civil, ecclesiastical, naval, and military.

I have divided the paper into the three sections given in the title, and shall treat them in that order.

### CHESTER AND THE CONQUEST OF WALES.

The prominence of Chester in the *Patent* and *Close Rolls* is obviously due to the military position of the County Palatine. The men of Chester were already acquainted with warfare on the Welsh marches—(there is an ancient service, of which the following is an example: that Roger de Monte Alto holds 66 bovates of land in co. Lincs., of the Earl of Chester by free service that he is to be the first man in the army going to Wales and the last returning of the old feoffment)— and neither Henry III nor his son Edward were slow to appreciate the value of their experience, and of the strategical importance of the city as a military base. When the line of heirs male to the earldom of Chester died out. the young Lord Edward succeeded to the title, with the Justiciar Reginald de Grey as adviser.

*Pat.* 12 E. III, iv, 32-43

ren before he became king, he attempted to attach the four cantreds of North Wales to the earldom, and after his accession, previous to the "final" conquest of Wales, he tried to develop the resources and soothe the unrest of the northern part of the principality. "Rebel" Welsh were invited into the king's peace; David, brother of the Prince, and Guncelin de Badelesmere, justice of Chester, were empowered to grant pardon to homagers, and the latter was appointed to grant land in North Wales to all and sundry who should be content to hold them of the king, and their rents remitted if applied to repairs.

*Pat.* 5 E. I, i, 186

*Pat.* 8 E. I, i, 366

*Pat.* 7 E. I, i, 296

At the same time, great preparations were being made against a fresh outbreak. The king had waited in vain for Llewellyn to appear at Chester to do homage—(Letters, Patent and Close, are dated from Chester 1275, Sept. 3, 4, 10 and 11)—but neither commands nor promises could lure him from his mountain refuge. In 1277, the king came to Chester again, and spent July, August, and September in that city, Rhuddlan, Flint, and Basingwerk, where his forces had encamped. Broad roads were laid through the deep forests between Chester and Conway, and provisions poured into Chester. The carrying resources of the religious houses of Lancashire and Cheshire were requisitioned (a voluntary service), fish and grain from Lancashire, Ireland, and the southern counties were despatched to Chester.

(See *Pat. Rolls* under these dates.)

*Pat.* 6 E. I, i, 255

*Pat.* 5 E. I, i 219, 226
*Cl.* 5 E. I, i, 372 [150
*Cl.* 10 E. I, ii,
*Pat.* 10 E. I, ii, 24

In 1282, David besieged Rhuddlan castle and took Roger Clifford prisoner. St. Werburg's Chronicler states that Reginald de Grey put the Welsh to flight, but Llewellyn devastated the country to the very gates of Chester. A commission of oyer and terminer was given to Hugh de Kendal touching an attack on a convoy bound for Wales on the high-road between Northwich and Chester,

*Pat.* 10 E. I, ii, 49

an opportunity no doubt afforded by the requirements of the war. We find letters dated from Chester in June and the early part of July of this year, and from Rhuddlan onward until the end of August; and the whole of the summer months of the following year were spent in North Wales. A inspection of the dates and places of the Letters Patent of 1283 affords striking proof of the unwearied activity of our greatest soldier-king. The building of Conway and Caernarvon castles and the settlement of English barons in North Wales followed the close of the war. There is some probability that these castles were planned on a scale similar to our own castle of Liverpool. Edward stayed at Chester in mid-September, 1284, but does not appear to have come again to the neighbourhood until ten years had elapsed. Letters are dated from Chester and Conway, Dec., 1294—April 1295. Amongst local names of knights going to Wales on the king's service are to be found—Ralph le Botyler, William le Botyller of Weryngton, Roger de Moeles, Henry le Botiller, and Robert de Bold.

*Pat.* 15 E. I, ii, 268, 272, 273

It says much for the organisation of North Wales that the Edwards were able to levy large forces from the northern counties of Wales and subsidies in aid of their wars with Scotland. Both Cheshire and Lancashire were largely called upon for aid in men and supplies, but it is somewhat surprising to find North Wales laid under contribution also; and it is noticeable that when levying men in Cheshire for service beyond the border, or requisitioning vessels to carry arms or provisions, the king is careful to promise that the service shall not be drawn into a precedent. (See Ranulph's *Charter*, *infra*.) It may be remarked in passing that the lists of pardons given in the *Patent Rolls* is a significant comment on the constitution of the English armies. Military

*Pat.* E. I, iii, 342-3, 517-8, 597-8, 631

*Cl.* 16 E II, iii, 679

*Pat.* 26 E I, iii, 324

*Pat.* 4 E. II, i, 353

ervice in the time of war would pardon any crime, en that of the murder of a king's officer. Witness e exoneration of Adam, son of Thomas le Clerk Newton, Thomas Mulineus, son of Joan de otelers, Henry Baret, Roger Wildgose, and homas de Spellow from punishment for the murder Sir William le Blount, sheriff, killed at Liverpool, while discharging his office.

*Pat.* 13 E. III, iv, 217-226, 419-422

*Pat.* 11 E. III, iii, 580

*Pat.* 12 E. III, iv, 184

CHESTER CASTLE.

The notices of the castle of Chester consist chiefly n orders for its repair. They are directed to the ustice of Chester and to the chamberlain, singly r in association. These officers were held responsible for the upkeep of the castle and the king's ouses, and for the safe keeping of prisoners and ostages who might be confined there. They had lso to provide the castle with food, armour, and ther "dead garniture," and had occasionally to uperintend the garrisoning of the fortress. The onstable was an official distinct from the justice. Each castle had its own constable, while the justice ad the view of all the castles—Chester, Beeston, Rhuddlan, and Flint—within his bailiwick. The arrison in times of peace was partly maintained y knight-service. A scrutiny of the books of fees n 1338, on account of usurpations by lords holding f the Earl of Chester, showed, amongst other xamples, that Roesia de Werden held land in co. Staffs. by service of finding a knight in the garrison f Chester castle for forty days. Part of the bailey f the castle was called the foreign bailey, where William de Bello Campo, Earl of Warwick, lived while superintending the military resources of Chester in the war with Wales. The king's houses were within the bailey. There are frequent commands by the king, Edward II, to repair the castle and houses. In 1309, for instance, Payn Tybetot

*Cl.* 1 E. II, i, 35, 486

*Cl.* 5 E. III, ii, 185

*Pat.* 2 E. III, i, 336

*Cl.* 5 E III, ii, 354

*Cl.* 15 E. I, ii, 464

*Cl.* 5 E. II, i, 374

*Cl.* 11 E. II, ii, 505

*Pat.* 12 E. III, iv, 32-43

*Pat.* 4 E. I, i, 169

*Cl.* 4 E. I, i 358

*Cl.* 3 E. II, i, 187

was ordered to spend £100 out of his ferm on the houses, walls, towers, and gates of the castle, acting on the instructions of William de Doncaster and the mayor. Of this sum, £49 4*s.* 6½*d.* was expended in repairing the houses, walls, and towers, while the remaining £50 15*s.* 5½*d.*, and £153 10*s.* 11*d.* more, had to be spent on the work of the tower over the outer gate of the castle. Later in the reign, a further sum of £140 was devoted to the four castles of the bailiwick and the king's manor of Shotwick.

*Cl.* 9 E. II, ii, 294

*Cl.* 19 E. II, iv, 450

But in spite of these large sums, Edward III had to institute a careful enquiry into the state of the houses, walls, turrets, bridges, sea-ditches, ponds, hedges, palings, &c., of these castles and the manors of Shotwick and Frodsham. In the same reign, Thomas le Attiliour was appointed to the office of maker of engines of war *(attiliatoris)* in Chester castle, with daily wages of 4*d.* and a coat every year worth 13*s.* 4*d.*, and Master Richard de Legh, carpenter, or another suitable man of that "mistery," was employed to repair defects in the king's castles and manors for a stipend of 4*d.* a day. The king's occupation of the castle was necessarily preceded by elaborate preparations. Guncelin de Badelesmere, in 1275, was empowered to buy 40 tuns of wine, 100 oxen and sheep, 60 swine, 200 sheep, 40 or 50 quarters of old corn, 10 or more quarters of new corn, and 100 quarters of oats, against the king's arrival.

*Cl.* 5 E. III, ii, 186

*Pat.* 3 E. III, i, 411

*Cl.* 5 E. III, ii, 186

*Cl.* 3 E. I, i, 196

While military and civil prisoners were confined in the dungeons of the castle, and hostages from Wales were maintained there, the citizens of Chester had also to find security for their good behaviour, by maintaining within its walls eighteen boys of "young and tender age." The provision is a notable comment on the spirit of the age and the turbulence of the district. Hardly had

*Cl.* 10 E. III, iii, 710
*Pat.* 2 E. III, i, 336
*Cl.* 1 E. II, i, 35, 486

dward III succeeded to the throne, than the tizens petitioned for the release of their sons, nd the king, of his grace, and in recognition the innocence of the boys and the good intenons of the city fathers, set them at liberty, six at time, with a provision that should the citizens resume on his clemency, the boy hostages should turn to the castle. *Cl.* 1 E. III, i, 169, 187

CUSTOMS OF CHESTER.

There are but few entries in either *Patent* or *Close Rolls* which refer to the customs of the county. he earliest is one relating to the "lawing" of dogs, which the justice of Chester is charged to note hat it belongs to the ancient rights of the lords, hat where there are one or two lords and not more towns within the county of Chester, their dogs eed not be "lawed"; but where there are more, the ogs of the principal lord need not be so treated — n esteemed privilege where there are valuable orests and hunting preserves. *Cl.* E. I, i, 215

The most important entry is that reciting the harter granted by Earl Ranulph to the barons and ree men of his earldom. This charter was inpected and confirmed by Edward I, in the year 300. As may be expected, stress is laid upon nilitary service. Full service is demanded for very knight's fee in time of war, and their tenants, whether knights or not, are to be provided with breastplates and hauberks, and are to defend their own fees or find able substitutes. The bondmen of he barons, the under-lord's villeins, owe no service o the earl, certain of the earl's bondmen the barons nay keep; and the city of Chester is to be no harbour of refuge for any villein who wishes to escape rom the service of his immediate lord, unless he nanages to remain within the city for a year and a day. The heavy service occasioned by the *Pat.* 28 E. I, iii, 499, 500, 519

strategical position of the county exempts the barons from compulsory service "extra lymam," but every lord must be ready to defend the earl and his land or to raise the siege of Chester castle, should an invasion of the earl's enemies take place.

Each baron has extensive jurisdiction over his tenants. His court is to be free from interference by the earl's court, except in cases which affect the earl's "sword." The earl's serjeants can no longer claim sheaves and oblations from the barons, and in times of peace only twelve serjeants in eyre shall be kept in his land, none of whom may be quartered in any of the barons' demesnes, nor shall they compel the tenants outside the demesne to purchase special food for their use. The baron may cultivate his land as he pleases, and if the land lie within the bounds of his town, herbage will not be exacted, and they have freedom of their wood for building and hedging purposes. On the death of the baron, respect shall be had to his legacies, and his widow and heir shall not be disturbed until forty days have elapsed since his death, when the inheritance shall pass to the successor on payment of a relief of 100*s*. for every knight's fee. Nor shall the earl marry the widow or the heir without the goodwill and assent of themselves and "their race."

This charter Ranulph granted to the barons, "having taken the cross and for the love of God," but at the same time the barons elected to forego certain privileges which they had previously claimed, relating chiefly to hunting in the forest of Delamere, and the men of "Wych" discontinued to petition him in the matter of their laws, of which they appear to have desired some easement. Edward I confirmed this charter, and another which he had granted when he came to the earldom in the time of his father. By the latter, the lord Edward acknowledged the services of his men of "Cestreshire" in

he Barons' war as voluntary service not to be drawn into a precedent, and allowed the amercements of men holding land in the county to go to the lord of the fee after a year and a day.

We are reminded of the riding services of the serjeants in eyre in a commission of oyer and terminer of the years 1281 and 3, when Roger de Daveneport complained that the lords of certain fees have refused the jurisdiction of the king's bailiffs, and have withdrawn the service of providing food for the serjeant. The service of these serjeants consisted in riding through the king's (or earl's) land to keep the peace and to see that others kept it. It is one of many marks, apparent in the *Patent* and *Close Rolls*, of the weakness of Edward II's administration that, in the first year of his reign, Edward III had to send an urgent letter *Close* to Richard Dammori, justice of Chester, who should remedy the abuses consequent upon the farming of their office by the serjeants to men who not only neglected their duties, but actually concealed trespassers against the king's peace in the county.

*Pat.* 9 E. I, i, 471-2
*Pat.* 11 E. I, ii, 76
*Cl.* E. III, i, 226

Earl Ranulph granted a similar charter to his free-men of Wirral, acquitting them of feeding any of his serjeants, except six foresters on foot, who had free quartering throughout Wirral except in the manors of the abbot of Chester, viz., Eastham, Bromborough, Irby, and Sutton, but in cases of necessity they were to maintain twelve serjeants, and do all in their power to assist in keeping the peace. This charter was also confirmed by Edward I.

*Pat.* 28 E. I, iii, 525

In the *Close Rolls* of Edward III there is a reference to customs of the men of the county called "chartrers," which, to the extent of £68 8*s.* 10*d.* yearly, belonged to the sheriff. These customs were instituted in the reign of the first Edward,

*Cl.* 6 E. III, ii, 509
*Cl.* 7 E. III, iii, 183

and discontinued in the early years of Edward III for which reason William de Prayers and David de Egerton, successive sheriffs of the county, petitioned for a rebate in the ferm of £240 a year which they rendered to the king

*Cl.* E. III, ii, 487; v, 194

There is but one more peculiar custom noted in the material which I have collected: that, namely, peculiar to the manor of Codington, where there was a plot called "Overmersh," where the earls of Chester were accustomed to have an easement, that all men from Wales or elsewhere coming to the king's peace in time of war, could lodge there for a year and a day without drawing bolts. This military "sanctuary" was doubtless an extraordinary and valued concession to the earl and his men, when they required a temporary exemption from military service.

## OFFICERS OF CHESTER.

### I.—The Justice.

Just as the city of Chester becomes specially prominent in our records from its nearness to Wales, so the office of Justice gains extended powers and fuller responsibilities after the conquest of Wales. When Edward I succeeded, Reginald de Grey held this office, but in 1274 resigned it into the hands of Guncelin de Badelesmere (*Annales Cestrienses*), who received 100 marks per annum in the discharge of his justiciary functions. This remuneration was enlarged to a grant of £100 in 1278, when the custody of the castle of Flint and of the town of Rhuddlan was added to the office. Three years later Reginald de Grey took the place of Guncelin de Badelesmere, and the office became of great importance in the administration not only of Chester but of North Wales. The cantreds of Inglefield (with its lead mine) and Rhos and certain other lands, which were afterwards

*Pat.* 2 E. I, i, 60; 6 E. I, i, 256

*Ibid.*

*Pat.* 9 E. I, i, 464

esigned, were included in the office, which was let ut to ferm of 1000 marks yearly. The justiciar vas to maintain the castles of Chester and Flint at is own cost in time of peace, and to pay all regular lms and ancient customary fees of the castles. In 283, the cantred of Rhos and the lead mine of nglefield were withdrawn, and a rebate of £140 llowed in the ferm. The lead mine the king had eased to the abbot of Vale Royal, and the demesne ands of the county of Flint were demised to the urgesses of Flint and Rhuddlan. Edward was making another of his several attempts to impose he shire system upon Wales, but Flintshire remained a dependency of the earldom of Chester in all but name.

*Pat.* 11 E. II, ii, 82

This succession of Reginald de Grey to the usticeship marks a change in the administration of the earldom. The previous justice was responsible to the king for the issues of his bailiwick, his salary of £100 proceeding from those issues; Reginald held the office in ferm, and was now personally interested in the collection of the dues. The keenness of the justices in drawing the full amount from their bailiwick is illustrated by an order to the Earl of Chester (Edward, Prince of Wales) and to his justice to restore to Queen Isabella the fines, ransoms, and amercements drawn from felons of the manor of Macclesfield, of which the earl had no cognizance since it had been granted to the queen; and it is a mark of the fiscal importance of the office that Edward II guaranteed compensation to Payn Tybotot, his justice, in the event of his removal, and that Robert de Holland was given that position as a sop in the tardy recompense for his services by the same king.

*Cl.* E. II, ii, 373

*Pat.* E. II, i, 379

*Pat.* E. II, i, 411

The most notable of the justices in our period were Reginald de Grey (Edward I), Payn Tybotot (Edward II), Robert de Holland (Edward II),

Oliver de Ingham (Edward III). Reginald de Grey had already proved himself a trusted servant of the king when Edward I succeeded to the crown. When the line of the earls of Chester became extinct, Reginald was made justice of the new earl the Lord Edward, and in spite of strong complaints by the whole commonalty of Chester that the justice oppressed and vexed them by his disregard of their liberties and free customs, urgent royal commands to desist notwithstanding, he was reappointed in 1281. He not only fulfilled his justiciary functions ably, but showed himself a soldier and leader of no mean stamp. His work in Edward's Welsh campaigns and in the subsequent reorganization of the land, was both eminent and successful. In 1282, he spent the issues of his office in the stipends of soldiers and the upkeep of the castles, for which the ferm was remitted. It may be due to his military services that the appointment of a sub-justice (Richard de Macy) became necessary. Edward's attempt to give to Wales the shire system of England found a keen supporter in Reginald de Grey. (In *Letters Patent* of 25 Edward I, part 1, M. 12, he is addressed as Reynaud de Grey in the county of Chester with the four cantreds). His son, John de Grey, it may be noted, served so well in Edward's Scotch campaign that the king remitted £151 19*s.* 6*d.* of a debt which Reginald owed to the exchequer.

*Pat.* E. I, i, 6

*Pat.* 9 E. I, i, 464

*Cl.* 11 E. I, ii. 217

*Pat.* 16 E. I, ii, 308

*Pat.* 35 E. I, iv, 492

Robert de Holland was justice of Chester when Edward II ascended the throne. He was displaced by Payn Tybotot, who soon proved "impossible." It was the strength of such men as he that Edward failed to curb, and the restoration of Robert de Holland to the office of justice was not accomplished without urgent commands and threats from the king. The difficulty which was experienced in effecting Payn's removal has a parallel in the

*Pat.* 1 E. II, i, 38

*Pat.* 5 E. II, i, 427

*Cl.* 5 E. II, i, 396

calcitrance of Bartholomew de Badelesmere, son f the former justice of Chester and constable of the astle of Bristol, and the coincidence is emphasised *Letters Patent* of the following year addressed to oth, which forbade their attendance at a tournaent at Newmarket. He died, however, "intending the king service." Robert de Holland was one f the adherents of Thomas Earl of Lancaster—William de Holand, Ralph de Bikerstathe, and Richard de Lathum are others)—pardoned for the eath of Peter de Gavaston.

*Pat.* 5 E. II, i, 453

*Pat.* 6 E. II, i, 520

*Cl.* 9 E. II, ii, 294

*Pat.* 7 E. II, ii, 21

Oliver de Ingham, the last of the justiciars to be nentioned, was appointed during pleasure and then or life in 1328. He was, however, removed to the nore responsible position of seneschal of Aquitane nd steward of Gascony. This removal may have een partly due to the king's desire to employ him ut of England, for, by his adherence to Roger de Mortuo Mari, the turbulent Earl of March, he had hown himself to be a dangerous factor in the unest of the times. With the exception of temporary visits to England, he seems to have remained in Gascony during the remainder of his life, doing good and useful service as the king's officer.

*Pat.* 2 E. III, i, 317, 242

*Pat.* 4 E. III, ii, 22

*Pat.* E. III, iii, 467; iv, 381; v, 115

An office almost as prominent in the *Patent* and *Close Rolls* as that of justice is the office of

2.—Chamberlain.

His main duties are defined, in *Letters Close* of 2 and 4 Edward III. in which the chamberlain had orders "to pay to the king's constables, sheriffs, "fletchers, parkers, bailiffs, and ministers in his "bailiwick their usual fees and wages and the old "alms heretofore accustomed and allowed. Also "to cause the houses, chambers, turrets, &c., in "the king's castles of Chester, Beston, Flynt, and "Rothelan to be repaired by view and testimony "of Oliver de Ingham, justice of Chester." He

*Cl.* 2 E. III, i, 287-8

*Cl.* 4 E. III, ii, 78

*Cl.* 6 E. III, ii, 501

*Cl.* 19 E. II, iv, 450

*Cl.* 2 E. III, i, 268

was further responsible for the keeping of "th "king's victuals" in the castle of Chester, and fo the exchange of such food as cannot be kep Probably some of the duties of the justice ha

*Cl.* 1 E. III, i, 169 See also *Cl.* 1 E. I, i, 460

become deputed to the chamberlain, for in the reig of the third Edward, he was ordered to receive fine and amercements, to disband the levies of Cheste

*Cl.* 2 E. III, i, 347

Wales, and the March, to pay to the king's pleade

*Cl.* 5 E. III, ii, 249

in counties Chester and Flint 20*s*. and two robe

*Cl.* 7 E. III, iii, 2

worth 20*s*. each, his yearly fee, and to pay mone into the wardrobe of the king's son at Cheste

*Cl.* 7 E. III, iii, 15, 85

John Paynel had a special remit of £20 of arrears allowed on account of extraordinary expenses i

*Pat.* 1 E. III, i, 153

the discharge of his duties. These expenses pro

*Cl.* 2 E. III, i, 402

bably arose through the difficulty of collecting th

*Pat.* 4 E. III, ii, 572

issues of city and county during the disturbed stat of that and adjacent counties in the early part o

*Cl.* 3 E. III, i, 573

the reign of Edward III. This same John Payne arouses our interest by the fact that he did "goo "service to the king in his youth in superintendin "his education in letters," and is accordingly al lowed respite in the payment of the arrears of hi account as chamberlain of Chester. Entries rela ting to the arrears of ferm and account of justic

*Pat.* 12 E. III, iv, 31

and chamberlain are very common. In the *Paten Rolls* of 12 Edward III is a recital of debts to th king for those and other offices, which goes back a far as 1 Edward II, and to such minutiæ as a debt o one mark of the foreign issues of Hugh le Mercer escheator of Chester, 3 Edward II.

### ISSUES OF CHESTER.

We have found that the issues of Chester wen to the justice, if he had them at ferm, to the king o to the king's son, the Earl of Chester. When they were farmed to Reginald de Grey, the king allowed a rebate if their extent was narrowed, as when the lead mine of Inglefield was leased to the abbot o

ale Royal. There is a further instance of a rebate 1285, when a remission of £38 12*s.* yearly, for ght years, was granted "on account of recent decay of revenue." This decay can probably be ut down to the destructive fire of 15th May, 1278, hen, the chronicler of St. Werburgh's tells us, most the whole of Chester within the walls was urned down. But the issues to be fermed were mited. The king seems to have retained the ills, fishery, and demesne; he continues to grant urage and pavage to the citizens; and the queen eld cognizance of her land in Chester and North Vales. In 5 Edward I, the king gave power to e justice of Chester to let to farm for four or five ears the king's demesnes of the county, and the ills of Chester he put into the hands of Master Richard, the king's "engineer," at a rent of £140 f silver, afterwards adding the fishery of the Dee on the far side of the water," the rent being increased £60. This Master Richard also held the ffice of king's serjeant, and a grant of 12*d.* a day or life at the Exchequer of Chester. The conditions of tenure were that Master Richard Ingeniator hould keep in repair the mills, causeway, and ishery—wood for repairs being allowed from the orest of Delamere, and the king should allow in is rent for any corn taken or ground for the use of he king and the castle garrison. These mills were he subject of a petition to the king by the abbot of St. Werburg's in 1335; the earl or his justice ried to compel the abbot to take the mills at ferm, but the king decided that there was no precedent to back the earl's action. In 1334, the issues of the county of Chester, the castles of Chester, Beeston, Rhuddlan, and Flint, and the other appurtenances of the earldom in Wales, were granted to Queen Philippa for the sustenance of her three children, Edward, Isabella, and Joan.

*Pat.* 13 E. I, ii, 172

*Pat.* 5 E. I, i, 190

*Pat.* 3 E. I, i, 105

*Pat.* 12 E. I. ii, 135

*Pat.* 12 E. I, ii, 137

*Cl.* 9 E. III, iii, 407

*Pat.* 8 E. III, ii, 523

TRADE.

The impetus given to trade by the Crusades very noticeable in the *Letters Patent* and *Close* our period. Edward I himself took part in foreig trade, and gave every protection and assistance t traders. It was becoming clearly recognised th extensive trade is impossible without the "cred "system," and Edward, in his Statute of Merchant provided protection for home and foreign trade by the registration of debts and their recovery b distraint. The *Close Rolls* contain many entries c this character, by which the names of local mer chants and their relations with the merchants c Florence, Antwerp, and other continental centre of trade can be ascertained. The merchant-guil of Chester had occasionally to surrender a portio of their seal for recognisance of debts in the city In 1280, an exchange was established, assisted b a grant of £1000 from the exchange of London.

*Pat.* 5 E. I, i, 225, 226, 228; 6 E. I, i, 249; 1 E. III, i, 196; 11 E. I, ii, 59; 9 E. II, ii, 373, 387

*Cl.* E. III, v, 214, 440, 471, 476

*Pat.* 19 E. I, ii, 449; 3 E. II, i, 224; 9 E. II, ii, 390; 16 E. III, v, 408; 9 E. I, i, 414

Corn, wool, and wine were the chief staples o trade in the port. Many letters of protection were issued for merchants of Chester going to Ireland to buy corn, not only for the garrisons of Chester and North Wales, but for export to other counties The trade with Ireland was long established. The marten skins of *Domesday Book* (i, 262 b.) which Chester rendered yearly to the king, are shown by charters of Duke Henry and King John granted to Rouen, to have come from Ireland; and when Henry II granted the city of Dublin to the men of Bristol, he licensed the burgesses of Chester to buy and sell at "Dunelina," as they had done in the time of Henry I. (*Vide* Round's *Feudal England*, pp. 465-7.)

*Cl.* 4 E. I, i, 314

*Pat.* 5 E. I, i, 190, 227; 11 E. I, ii, 59; 12 E. I, ii, 117

*Cl.* 9 E. II, ii, 299

*Pat.* 9 E. II, ii, 470

*Pat.* 5 E. III, ii, 64

An import trade was also carried on with Bordeaux in wine, a trade which attracted the king's notice. A cargo of good choice and clear wines

*Cl.* 4 E. I, i, 274

*Pat.* 5 E. I, i, 228

ving arrived in Chester in 1276, Edward com- *Cl.* 14 E. II, iii, 291
ssioned his justice to buy 40 tuns of it. A duty *Pat.* 5 E. III, ii, 103
2*s.* on every tun was imposed on foreign wines ming into the port.

The dangers of the sea were not the only risks hich the merchants had to chance. In 1322, *Cl.* 15 E. II, iii, 453
ght citizens of Chester—William de Donecastre, enedict de Staundon, William le Clerk, Richard ussel, Roger le Blound, Alan de Smetheton, homas le Taverner, Roger le Harper—petitioned e king for remedy in their losses. They had nt to Gascony to buy wines for the mainnance of their city. At Bordeaux they took n board 105 tuns and 7 pipes of wine and other ods to the value of £400. When near home, ey lay at anchor at "Le Stanhous," Anglesey, here, after being duly inspected by the chamberin of North Wales, they were attacked by his men. n a panic, the sailors hauled up their anchor and et sail, but they were driven back by a tempest. he chamberlain and his men then raised "hue and cry of horn and mouth" upon them, and ttacked them so fiercely that two of the crew were illed and five died of their wounds. They cut heir cables again, and were driven by the storm nto "parts unknown," losing of their goods 37 uns and 5 pipes, and a boat called "flotebate," vhile the remainder suffered deterioration. The Earl of Arundel was commanded to see that justice vas done.

The export trade of Chester consisted almost entirely of wool. Owing to the interest of the king, his trade seems to have been particularly flourishng in the reign of Edward III. In 1337, an *Cl.* 11 E. III, iv, 148-9
ndenture was enrolled which authorised the mer- *Pat.* 11 E. III, iii, 482
chants of the realm to buy 30,000 sacks of wool. They were to lend the king £200,000 sterling, and n return were granted the monopoly of the trade,

and were to receive all customs on all goods coming into the realm until the debt was paid. The king was to find ships for the export trade. Four merchants of Chester, Henry Torald, Roger de Blorton, Robert de Ledesham, and John Hawardyn were empowered to buy the wool of Chester, and to pay $9\frac{1}{2}$ marks per sack for it. (In 1275, the abbot of Dernhall sold 12 sacks of wool in the city of London at 9 marks a sack, each sack containing 4 stones.) The wool was amongst the best to be had, that bought in Lincolnshire and Salop only, being worth more (10 and $10\frac{1}{2}$ marks), while that of the four northern counties fetched 5 marks only. There were no buyers appointed for Lancashire. The wool trade was carried on mainly with Flanders, the staple being shipped at London and Ipswich. The product of the county must have been collected at Chester, and conveyed across country. The religious houses of St. Werburgh and Stanlow were interested in the trade, and carried their wool annually to Boston fair. The merchants of Chester also found a market for their goods in the Isle of Man, from which they brought lead.

*Cl.* 3 E. I, i, 254

*Cl.* E. III, iv, 270, 430, 499; v, 54; 2 E. II, i, 141

*Pat.* 10 E. I, M. 20; 11 E. I, M. 15; 12 E. I, M. 11

*Pat.* 18 E. I, M. 39; M. 28

Amongst the most influential of the merchants of Chester was William de Doncaster, who flourished in the reign of Edward II. He appears to have traded with Ireland for corn, Gascony for wines, collected iron and lead for the Welsh castles, and to have been appointed king's deputy in the ports of Chester and North Wales. He is mentioned here as an illustration of the trading activity of his city, an activity which was rewarded by the king, in spite of his attempt to add to his income by debasing the coin of the realm, importing small coin, and trading with prohibited money.

*Pat.* 23 E I, iii, 126, 135; 31 E. I, iv, 143; 1 E. II, i, 6

*Cl.* 17 E. II, iv, 41

*Pat.* 28 E. I, iii, 526

Letters of protection, &c., were granted to the following merchants, citizens, and merchant-citizens of Chester during our period :—

WARD I.—Robert le Mercer (mayor), Nicholas Fermeband, Alexander Hurel, Alexander son of Alexander Hurel, William Pecke, Ranulph de Kancia, William Harald, John son of Abraham, Ranulph Pecke, William Beaumand, Robert Erneys, Robert Mapdat, William le Furner.

WARD II.—William Maufe and Joan his wife, John Demestre, William de Donecastre, Benedict de Staundon, William le Clerk, Richard Russel, Roger de Blound, Alan le Smetheton, Thomas le Taverner, Roger le Harper.

WARD III.—John de Housum, Thomas de Strangwas, Roger le Harper, Alan de Smetheton, Roger de Capinhurst (Capulhurst, Capilhurst), Richard de Bradebourn, Henry Torald (Torond, Thorale, Thorald), Roger de Blorton, Robert de Ledesham (Ledensham), John Hawardyn, Henry Russel.

## RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

With the exception of St. Werburgh's, there is canty reference to the religious houses of Chester. Ve hear that the earls of Chester conferred upon he prioress and nuns of St. Mary's alms, which vere converted by Edward I into 24 marks yearly, ut of the ferm and issues of Northwich, where hey also owned a moiety of a salt pit, and that the rant was transferred to the town of Middlewich, nd that they transferred a plot of land adjoining he dwelling house of the Friars Minors in exchange or another granted to them in mortmain by William le Brikhull, citizen of Chester.

*Pat.* 6 E. I, i, 246

*Cl.* 7 E. III, iii, 6

*Pat.* 6 E. III, ii, 360

The Friars Minors were established where the Linen-hall now stands, in Watergate Street. They were licensed in 1331 to make two hand-mills and to grind their corn where they pleased. The Dominicans or Friars Preachers, from which order Edward I took his confessors, were established in Chester by Bishop Stavenby, between the years 1224 and 1238. Edward I specially interested himself in them, giving them 40*d.* weekly for their maintenance, of the king's alms, and they were

*Pat.* 5 E. III, ii, 89

*Cl.* 3 E. I, i, 142

*Pat.* 4 E. I, i, 165 permitted to make a conduit through the king's land from a spring near the gallows to their house in the city. The leper hospital of St. Giles obtained confirmation of liberties granted by the earls of Chester and re-granted by Henry III. The hospital of St. John's (the Lesser), established by Earl Ranulph outside the Northgate of the city for the maintenance of the poor, suffered much in the reign of Edward II from maladministration and misappropriation of money, an impoverishment which a change of superior had not remedied so late as 15 Edward III. So bad was the state of the hospital, that an inquisition *ad quod damnum* was held by the justice of Chester, with the result that Prince Edward transferred it to the custody of Birkenhead priory, with strong injunctions to maintain the charitable works of the foundation, in the support of the weak and infirm and the distribution of alms and largesses.

*Pat.* 3 E. III, i, 399

*Pat.* 11 E. I, ii, 55

*Pat.* 4 E. II, i, 321

*Pat.* 15 E. III, v, 299

*Pat.* 19 E. II, ii, 476

The abbey of St. Werburgh's dates from before the Conquest, when Wulpherus, king of Mercia, founded a monastery for his "devoted" daughter Werburga. In 1093, Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, acting on the advice of Anselm, erected new buildings, where the cathedral now stands, for the monks of the order of St. Benedict.

The interval between the death of abbot Simon and the election of the new abbot, Thomas de Burchles, was the occasion of an inspection of the charters made by Hugh and his successors, which Edward I confirmed. No service, except the service of prayer, was due from the abbey, nor was the king entitled to its issues during voidance, but must rather provide a guard for its safe keeping in such an interval. When the abbey provided the large contingent of 100 workmen to assist in military works at Flint, and loaned its horses and carts for transport of food and arms,

*Pat.* 9 E. I, ii, 423. 425

*Pat.* 20 E. I, ii, 471

*Pat.* 5 E. I, i, 226; 10 E. I, ii, 29

e king acknowledged that the contributions were luntary and without prejudice to the foundation. hile the abbey had its own workmen, it also nployed its own merchants, who bought large iantities of corn and provisions in Ireland and sewhere under the king's protection. During dward's stay in Chester, in 1283, the king and ieen heard mass at the abbey, and took an oath preserve its liberties.

*Pat.* 9 E. I, i, 457; 12 E. I, ii, 128, 138

(*Annales Cestrienses.*)

No reference is made in our material to St. Werirgh's three days' fair, which provided temporary inctuary for criminals at large, but there are veral letters which give the abbot a tenth of the sues of the city. This tithe amounted to £15 per nnum in the reign of Edward I, and £10 in that his successors. The house was also entitled to tenth of the venison taken by the king from elamere forest. Other entries refer to the water ipply of the convent, and its garden outside the alls of the city. In the early fourteenth century ie abbey provided an asylum for old servants of ie king. Edward I's practical piety extended far eyond the walls of his city of Chester. He revived ie abbey of Conway, and bore the whole cost of a ew church and buildings there. But his great ork as a monastic patron was the foundation of ie Cistercian

*Cl.* 8 E. II, ii, 158-9; 14 E. II, iii, 254; 3 E. III, i, 440; E. I, i, 210, 402, ii, 199

*Pat.* 3 E. I, i, 105; 6 E. I, i, 279; 11 E. I, ii, 75

*Cl.* 6 E. II, i, 580; ii, 437, 596

ABBEY OF VALE ROYAL.

s establishment was the outcome of a vow made y him on his return from the Holy Land, when is vessel was in danger of shipwreck. In 1266, ie Lord Edward settled a hundred monks of the istercian order from Dore Abbey, where he had eceived liberal hospitality, on his manor of Dernall. with the intention of finding a more suitable pot for their monastery. Eleven years later, beore a brilliant assembly of lords and ladies, the

*Pat.* 22 E. I, iii, 62; 5 E. II, i, 401

*Cl.* 6 E. II, i, 479

king and queen laid the foundation-stone of the abbey of Vale Royal, at a place called "Wheten-"halewes" and "Munchenwro," in a secluded hollow of the valley of the Weaver. It was not finished until 1330 and cost £32,000, which was for the most part defrayed out of the revenue of Chester. A multitude of entries in the *Patent* and *Close Rolls*, dealing with large grants of money, such as that of the issues of Chester, and minutiæ such as an allowance of 14 marks from the issues of Chester to be spent in clothing the abbot and his monks, show the religious enthusiasm which the king carried into his project. While at Dernhall, Edward gave to the monastery

*Pat.* 6 E. I, i, 247
*Cl.* 4 E. I, i, 320

*Cl.* 3 E. I, i, 140
*Cl.* E. I, i, 220, 292
*Pat.* 3 E. I, i, 105
*Cl.* E. I, i, 297

£30 out of his treasury at Chester.
The manors of Weverham and Cunewardesleye.
50 marks yearly until an equivalent in land should be granted.
A tun of wine yearly of the king's right prise at Chester, for divine service.

And no sooner was the building of the abbey of Vale Royal commenced, than he granted 1000 marks yearly out of the issues of the county of Chester, Leonius being appointed chamberlain for that special purpose. Gifts followed in rapid succession. Those recorded in the material I have sifted are as follow :—

*Pat.* 6 E. I, i, 246
*Ib.*, 252

*Cl.* 6 E. I, i, 436
*Cl.* 5 E. I, i, 408
*Pat* E. I, i, 309, 404, 416; ii, 32, 66
*Pat.* 11 E. I, ii, 66
*Pat.* 6 E. I, i, 271-2. *Cl.* 9 E. I, ii, 102
*Cl* 9 E. I, ii,

A grant of £105 with which to buy land.

Temporary custody of the lands in Wirral, held by Hugh de Coroun.

The rent (£200) during the minority of the heirs, of the castle and hundred of Oswestry, of land in Sussex and Hants (£35 10*s.* 6*d.*), and of the lands and honor of Whitchurch.

The serjeanty of various lands and woods in county Chester.

An amercement of £100 still owing by the community of Cheshire for "contempt" of King Henry III.

The ferm of the justice of Chester. *Pat.* 9 E. I, i, 465; 11 E. I, ii, 82

The sheep, oxen, stock, and corn of Frodsham, for the year 1282. *Cl.* 10 E. I, ii, 160

Tithes of king's demesne in Frodsham. *Pat.* 12 E. I, ii, 117

The lead mines of Inglefield. *Pat.* 11 E. I, ii, 69

The issues of the town of Northwich. *Pat.* 6 E. I, i, 246

Timber for building and ferns for making glass, from Delamere forest. *Cl.* 12 E. I, ii, 264

Estover in the wood of Bradford. *Pat.* 12 E. I, ii, 137

The ferm of the castle and honor of Arundel. *Cl.* 13 E. I, ii, 373

A fine of 1000 marks for trespass by Richard de Hethersete, king's serjeant. *Pat.* 13 E. I, ii, 150

A grant of £1000, and dead wood for firewood in the forest of the Peak. *Pat.* 6 E. II, i, 508; 30 E. I, iv, 50

Queen Eleanor also bequeathed £100 for the sus- *Pat.* 6 E. II, i, 508
enance of two monks to pray for her soul.

John de London, king's clerk, was awarded £40 *Pat.* 9 E. I, i, 452
year for life for devoted service in the cause of he monastery.

The entries T.R. E. II are for the most part cknowledgments of debts to and by the abbot, no loubt a reflection of his trade relations, and there s a curious contract of 3 Edward I, by which abbot *Cl.* 3 E. I, i, 254
ohn engages to deliver twelve sacks of wool at his wn risk at St. Giles's lodging, London, within a pecified time, or forfeit £20 for every day exceeding that term. The London merchants paid a deposit of £80, and guaranteed the rest on delivery.

The harsh and oppressive rule of the abbots, and *Pat.* 14 E. III, iv, 485
heir consequent unpopularity, is reflected in an ntry of 14 Edward III, when Robert de Radclyf nd Richard de Venables were directed to arrest narauders who had burned the houses and crops of he abbot, stolen a large quantity of his goods and nimals, and perpetrated other crimes.

## BIRKENHEAD.

As can be surmised, the whole of the entries in the *Patent* and *Close Rolls* which relate to Birkenhead, concern themselves with the priory; but there are letters of 1275 and 1277 which are dated from Birkenhead. Edward's occupation of Chester Castle, at the beginning of September, 1275, was broken by a three or four days' visit to the priory. It enjoyed the patronage and personal interest of the Edwards, and, as is proved by the transfer of the Lesser St. John's, Chester, to its oversight, their confidence. The political importance of the visit of 1277 (Aug. 1-5) is more apparent, for there, on 1st August, the king met an envoy from Alexander III of Scotland, bringing a protest from his Royal master against an accusation of the bishop of Durham that he had encroached southward beyond the ancient accustomed marches. The "flodmerk" was the limit which he claimed the right to reach, and beyond that he had not extended his kingdom, as he made certain an enquiry would prove.

*Pat.* 9 E. II, ii, 476

*Pat.* 5 E. I, i, 225

Letters of this year are also dated from Stanlow (Aug. 6), Ince (Aug. 10, 11), and Bromborough (Aug. 12, 13). In 1284, the priory was licensed to enclose their court, and divert the direction of the street which had run through the middle of it "to the nuisance of the prior and convent and the "manifest scandal of their religion," and in 1318 they were permitted to build houses for the accommodation of travellers crossing the river. This grant was enlarged by Edward III, who allowed them to take toll for men, horses, and goods crossing the ferry. In 1330, the priory alienated in mortmain a moiety of the church of Kirkby in Whalley, which the latter was licensed to appropriate.

*Cl.* 12 E. I, ii, 276

*Pat.* 4 E. III, i, 505

*Pat.* 4 E. III, i, 512

The remaining entries relate to—

(1). Acknowledgment of debts by the prior. *Cl.* E. I, ii, 233, 494; 4 E. III, ii, 135

(2). Letters of protection. *Pat.* 22 E. I, iii, 97

(3). A grant in aid of the Holy Land. *Pat.* 25 E. I. iii, 286

(4). A subsidy of 5 marks in aid of the marriage of Eleanor, the king's sister, to the Count of Guelders—to which St. Werburg's gave 20 marks and Vale Royal 100*s*. *Pat.* 7 E. III, ii, 422 *Cl.* 6 E. III, ii, 587, 588; 7 E. III, iii, 48

## LIVERPOOL.

For the reign of Edward I, there is no mention of Liverpool in our material beyond three orders for the release of prisoners in Liverpool gaol. *Pat.* 7 E. I, i, 328 *Cl.* 13 E. I, ii, 310, 326 The land between the Ribble and the Mersey was held by Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, by the service of a sore hawk, which nominal service the earl neglected to perform until reminded of it by his royal brother, and service and homage due by reason of the king's lands were taken by the earl. *Pat.* 20 E I, ii, 483, 487 Such homage Richard de Waleton did for his fourteen bovates in Walton, Wavertree, and Newsham. *Pat.* 23 E. I, iii, 148 Fees, however, could only be granted by the earl, by the king's licence, as when Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, made over the manor of West Derby and 300 acres of wood to Robert de Holand, and the grant of Toxteth and Smithdown to the abbey of Whalley, was similarly made by royal assent. *Pat.* 9 E. II, ii, 476 *Pat.* 10 E. II, ii, 568 *Monasticon*, v, 646 John de Lancastria, "keeper" of the manor of West Derby and of lands in Salford, Liverpool, Crosby, Wavertree, Everton, and Hope, portions of the earl's demesne, answered to Henry, Earl of Lancaster, for the ferms, issues, and profits of those places in the time of Edward III, who also confirmed a grant *Cl.* 2 E. III, i, 257 by Earl Ranulph to the monks of Shrewsbury of the manor of Garston, the church of Walton, and a moiety of a fishery in the Mersey. *Pat.* 4 E. III, ii, 39

*Cl.* 1323, Oct. 15, 28 Oct. 28, 30

Edward II, in 1323, proceeded from Holland (co Lancs.), where he stayed for a fortnight in Octobe of that year, to Liverpool, his visit being precede by repairs and victualling of the castle for the kin and for the needs of the army then retreating fron the lowlands of Scotland. Letters close are als dated from Blackburn and Ince, during the roya journey. In the three years following, Liverpool Frodsham, Chester, in common with other ports o the realm, were notified of the king's possible nee of ships. The queen and her twelve year old son were in France, and all the entreaties of the king failed to effect their return. The suspicion, which proved well founded, of a conspiracy between queen and barons, is reflected in orders to search ships for suspicious letters, and to prevent horses, armour, and money going out of the realm. In the year 1334 or 1335, two ships set out from Liverpool fully manned, in pursuit of a vessel bound for Dumbarton and laden with provisions for the Scottish foe. We learn from letters close of 9 Edward III, that they accomplished their errand, and that William de Werdale, king's clerk, was paid 3*s.* a day and his expenses in providing and provisioning them.

*Cl.* 16 E. II, iii, 627

*Cl.* 16 E. II, iii, 653

*Cl.* E. II, iv, 183, 367, 378, 537, 545, 641; *see also Cl.* 2 E. III, i, 397

*Cl.* 5 E. III, 2, 397-8

*Cl.* 9 E. III, iii, 414

The trade of Liverpool in the reign of Edward III was of sufficient importance to make grants of pavage, for periods of three years, desirable. Upon what class of goods the toll was levied, the calendar does not say. In 5 and 10 Edward I, Nantwich was granted a levy of ½*d.* on every cart laden with merchandise, and Chester had a pavage of ½*d.* on every cartload of firewood and coals. The money thus raised in the case of Chester, Wigan, Warrington, Liverpool, Lancaster, and Preston was occasionally diverted from its special purpose and the misappropriations were the subject of a commission of oyer and terminer.

*Pat.* E. III, i, 231; ii, 396; iii, 223

*Pat.* 5 E. I, i, 233; 10 E. I, ii, 25

*Pat.* 7 E. I, i, 311

*Pat.* 4 E. III, i, 559; ii, 62; 15 E. III, v, 313

Disturbances of a serious nature took place in

Liverpool and throughout Lancashire in the year 1345. The lawlessness which took place some years later throughout the realm had its foreshadowing in Lancashire. In 1337, Sir William le Blount, the Sheriff of Lancashire, at Liverpool in his official capacity, met a violent death, a crime which was pardoned by active service in the army. The later riots in Liverpool, when a deliberate attempt to prevent the judges on commission from sitting was accompanied by murder and larceny, seem to have been part of an organised movement throughout the county, and were followed by the appointment of a large and influential body of peace commissioners in each wapentake, that of West Derby consisting of no less than twelve members.

*Pat.* 11 E. III, iii, 580; 12 E. III, iv, 184
*Pat.* 13 E. III, iv, 217-236, and 419-422
*Pat.* 19 E. III, vi, 425, 495, 498, 499, 509

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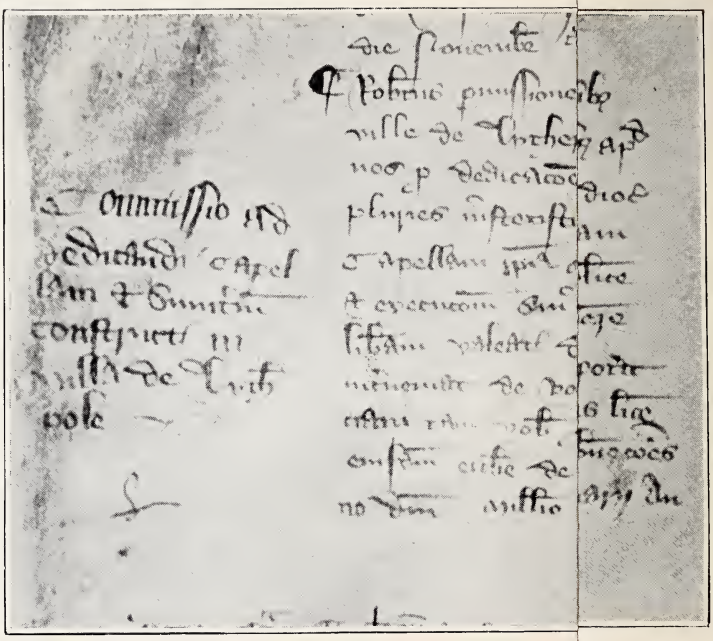
E. II. *Cl.* vol. i, pp 201, 480

E. III. *Pat.* vol. i, p 114; vol. ii, p. 12
*Cl.* vol. i, pp. 281, 460



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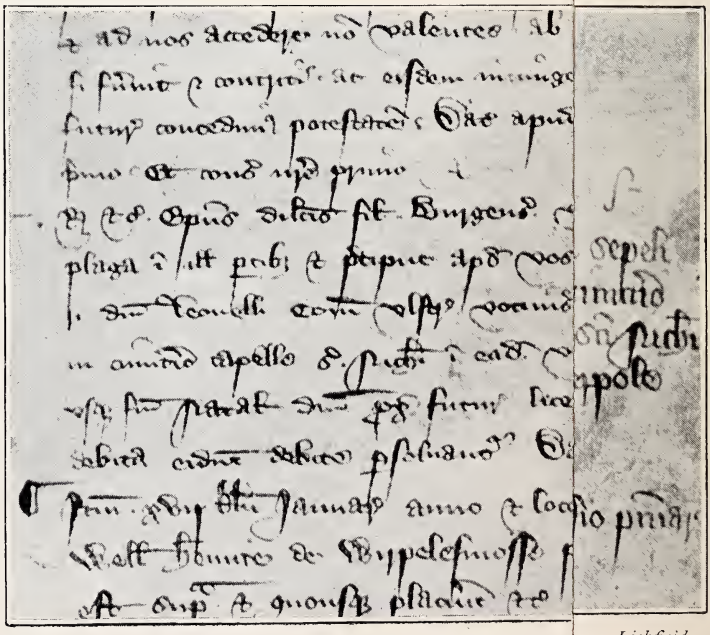

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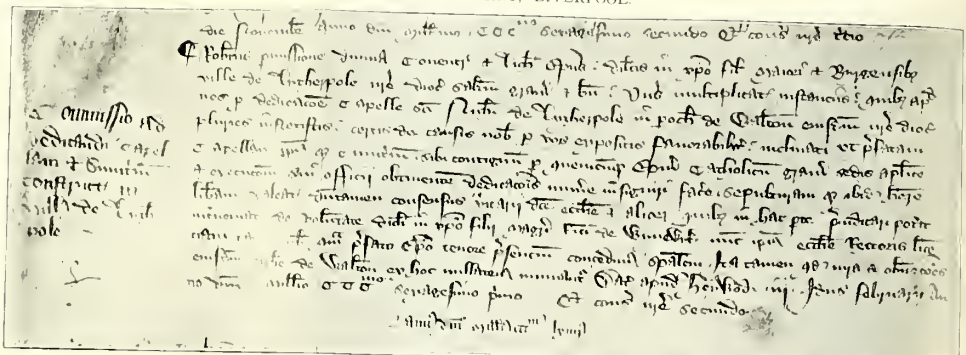
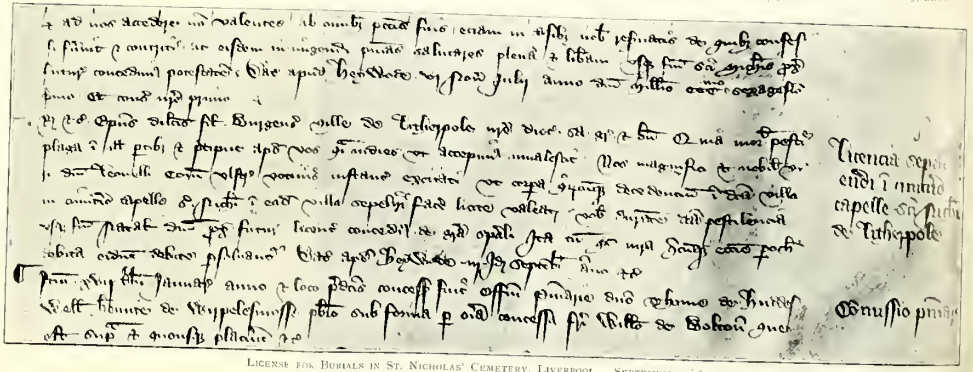
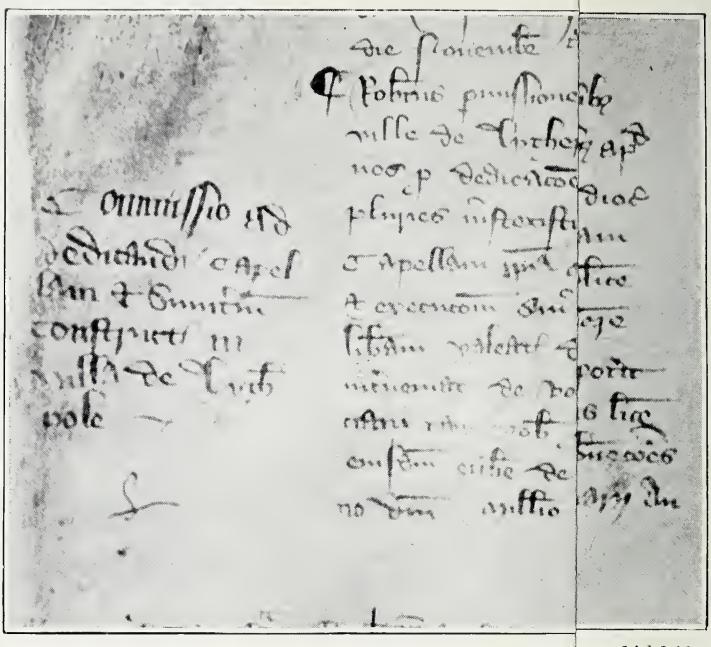


COMMISSION FOR DEDICATION OF ST. NICHOLAS' CHAPEL AND CEMETERY, LIVERPOOL FEBRUARY, 1361/2 [Photo.—Varney, Liverpool.



LICENSE FOR BURIALS IN ST. NICHOLAS' CEMETERY, LIVERPOOL SEPTEMBER, 1361. [Photo.—Varney, Liverpool.

*From the Ecclesiastical Act Book, Lichfield; by courtesy of Mr. H. C. Hodson, Diocesan Registrar.*



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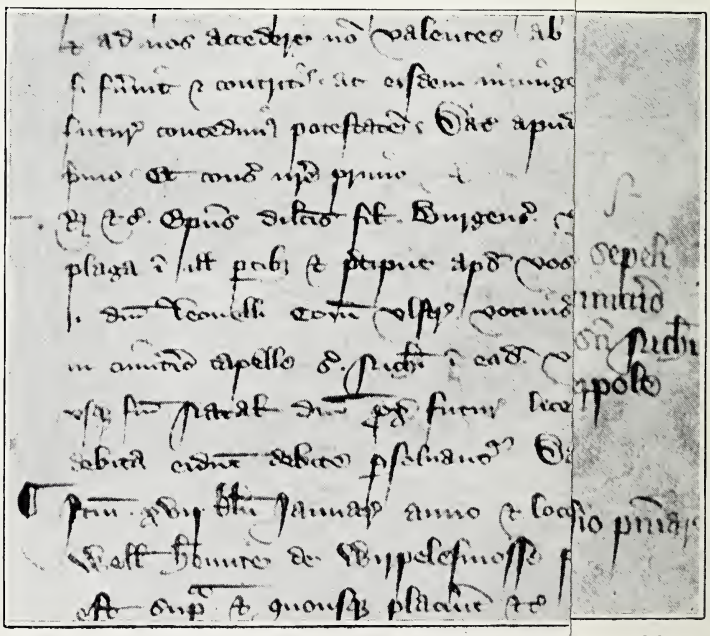

LICENSE FOR ney, *Lichfield.*

*From the Ecclesiastical Act Book, Lichfield*; *by court*

# THE CHAPEL OF ST. MARY DEL KEY, LIVERPOOL.

*By John Elton.*

Read 13th March, 1902.

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"If the origin of the foundation of the chantries could be "told, how many pathetic incidents and touching events "would be revealed; some of them startling as the visions "of the *Divina Comedia*, others illustrative of all the ten-"derness of our nature, Sympathy and affection had much "to do with their origin independent of superstitious feelings. "As monumental tributes to preserve the names of those "sleeping in the vaults beneath they were the offspring of "gratitude and love. The monumental pillar and glowing "window were not unknown; and while many selected these "as the embodiment of deep and earnest feelings, others "chose as a fitting shrine the solemn chantry and its priest."

CANON RAINES.

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THE existence of the "Chapel del Key" of Liverpool is, at the present time, one of the vaguest of myths. Ignored, doubted, or denied by the local historians; with no trace of foundation or original endowment left; without a record of any kind; small wonder is it that its mere name seems to conjure up, either to imagination or memory, nothing save "some baseless fabric "of a dream." St. Mary's was a very tangible reality nevertheless; and it is for lack of the history it deserves—now, apparently, unattainable—that this little sketch has been made. Though some part of it is based on facts and inferences derived from the Moore and Crosse charters, the

greater portion of the disconnected story is gathered from the *Porte Mote* books of the Corporation, and the Okill MS. copies of various Duchy deeds. To some, as to the writer, the sketch may possess a definite charm in affording what information seems to be available regarding this primitive ecclesiastical foundation of the town. To others it may bear extrinsic interest in introducing the first Chapel, the first Town Hall, and the first recorded Mayor of Liverpool—all earlier than and distinct from the accepted originals of the historians; and in yielding for the first time some connected narrative of the spoliation of the four chantries the town possessed.

Before proceeding with the investigation of so much that is new in local archæology, we may advantageously glance at what little the historians say of the chapel:—

St. Nicholas' is supposed to have been built in the year 1360, on the site of a more ancient structure of Saxon times. —Smithers. *Liverpool*, 1825.

The Chapel of Our Lady and St. Nicholas is supposed to have been erected soon after the Conquest, but on what authority I have been unable to learn: its first record is that of a chantry, founded, in 1327,[1] by Henry Duke of Lancaster.—Picton. *Address to Archæological Society*, 1848.

The Chapel of Our Lady and St. Nicholas was probably erected at a much earlier period than 1356, and must have been of great antiquity.—Brooke. *Liverpool*, 1853, 42.

It has been common in the histories of Liverpool to assign to St. Nicholas' a degree of antiquity which it would be found very difficult to substantiate. . . . The first mention of the Chapel of Our Lady, &c. . . . For none of these conjectures, suppositions, and beliefs is there the slightest title of authority. Previous to the middle of the fourteenth century, no mention of or allusion to the chapel has been found in any document.—Picton. *Memorials of Liverpool*, 1875, ii, 52; 1903, ii, 53.

St. Nicholas' was then [1356], in all probability, recently erected. It would appear, however, that another and distinct building existed at that time, called the Chapel of St. Mary of

[1] Apparently a misprint for 1357. But no such actual record was produced by Picton, nor has it ever been found.

he Quay. . . . We have notices [in sixteenth and seven-eenth centuries] of another smaller chapel, probably of greater ntiquity.—Picton. *Municipal Records of Liverpool*, 1883, i, 23, 04.

The Church of St. Nicholas, anciently designated the Church of Our Lady and St. Nicholas, was founded in the fourteenth entury as a chapel-of-ease to Walton. It has been said—and the statement has gained currency by reason of its frequent reiteration—that St. Nicholas' Chapel was built in the place of an earlier foundation that was in existence shortly after the Conquest. Mr. Herdman, in his *Ancient Liverpool*, has given a copy of a picture in the Binns' collection, which purports to be a representation of the building as it appears in 1160. It is needless to say that the picture is purely imaginary; and certainly the weight of evidence is against the supposition of any such building being in existence at the time named.—Croston's *Baines' Lancashire*, 1893, v, 150.

This extract, which opens and closes all that the latest standard history of the county devotes to the early ecclesiastical record of Liverpool, is as inaccurate and misleading as it is abrupt; and it concludes practically everything that, so far, has been published in any work on this not unimportant nor uninteresting theme; the net result of the whole being to leave the existence of St. Mary del Key floating so vaguely through the records as to perpetuate doubt whether it ever existed at all.

Though Baines and Croston considered that "the ecclesiastical history of Liverpool does not "possess any peculiar interest,"[2] we may perhaps find precisely such an interest in the simple fact of the original ecclesiastical foundation of the town having for centuries been forgotten; and though Picton conjectured that "it would be very "difficult to substantiate" its antiquity, we may probably accomplish this from deeds that came within Picton's purview, and of some of which indeed he published extracts.[3] What really is

[2] *Hist. Lancashire*, v, 149.

[3] *The Moore Deeds*. Pamphlet, 1889.

"difficult" in this matter, is to comprehend why the historians should have included in their conjectures the extremely remote possibility of Liverpool—a chartered hamlet in 1206; a town and port, with markets, corn mills, and ferry boats, in 1257—remaining without a single place of worship till 1361, when St. Nicholas' was built. True, many villages, both then and later, were in such a predicament, depending on distant mother churches; but Liverpool, even in 1257, was not to be classed in that category. Nor could the little garrison chapel in the castle (if it existed then) be considered such a place of worship as the vigorous commonalty of 1257 would have been content to regard as the chapel of the town.

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The date of the erection of St. Mary's certainly is unknown; but it was a monastic foundation, and was in existence at all events about half a century after the founding of the town. Among the early undated Moore deeds is a grant of land in Liverpool by "Robert de Ferrers son and "heir of William de Ferrers, nobilis viri, quondam "Earl of Derby."[4] This second Earl William Ferrers had died about 1252, and his son Robert was the ward of Henry III, who, in 1257, conferred the Ferrers' estates upon his son Edmund Crouchback. One of the witnesses to the above Moore deed was John Gernet, son-in-law of Randolph del More: and the document therefore affords an approximate date for Randolph who signed the special document now to be noticed. In this "Ranulphus de Mor de Lyv'pool grants to Mar-"gery his daughter and John Gernet and their "heirs," various lands in the town; including "half an acre with half a burgage next to *the*

4 *Moore Deeds*, 264 (1).

*Chapel*," also "the fourth part of one burgage lying next to *the Chapel* and next to the land of William de Chnouslee [Knowsley]."[5] Here, in orrect proximity to the land of the Knowsley amily at the river side, whereon, later, was built he Tower,[6] we may discern the Chapel del Key xisting certainly before 1257; or over a century efore the erection of the Chapel of St. Nicholas.[7] urther, the Chapel Street, which hitherto has lways been associated with St. Nicholas', was eally so called in connection with St. Mary's long efore St. Nicholas' was built.[8] In the Moore deeds ccur allusions to "half a burgage of land with a "house on it in le chapelstret" in 1318, 1320, and 1322:[9] and, so on, in 1338, 1353, 1355, and 1357 "le schapelstrete" runs continuously through the

5 *Moore Deeds*, 262 (3).

6 Katherine, daughter of Thomas de Knowsley, married Sir Robert de Lathom, who was living in 1291, and acquired Knowsley estate by this marriage. Their great-grand-daughter, Isabel de Lathom, married Sir John Stanley, whose house, apparently situated on the old Knowsley family lands at Liverpool, was fortified in 1404.

7 By this deed some light seems to be thrown on the much-disputed question of the êxtent of a "selion," which is usually very unintelligibly defined as being "a ridge of land between two furrows." Instead of this vague conjecture, the deed seems to show the selion to have been equal to a quarter of an acre. Among Randle's grants specified in the deed, were a certain "one burgage with a house on it, and one acre;" a phrase which, by the context, suggests an equivalent value between one burgage and one acre. This ratio appears again in another item: "half an acre "with half a burgage next to the chapel." Randle further grants, *en blôc*, "six selions," which he specifies separately:—

(*a*) One certain selion with one quarter burgage,
(*b*) One do. one do.
(*c*) One do. one do.
(*d*) One do. one do.

—suggestive of the selion being equivalent to a quarter burgage. If, as above, the burgage were equal to one acre; then the selion, of course, would equal a quarter acre. Only four selions out of the six are, so far, accounted for, but there follows, "half an acre with half a burgage, which "belongs to the said half acre." If, as has been suggested above, the burgage were equal to the acre, this half burgage would be equal to the half acre—that is to say, to two selions; which two selions would make up the total of six.

8 Baines states that Chapel Street is first mentioned in 1369 (*Liverpool*, 1852, 145); and Picton, in 1370 (*Records*, 1883, i, 32)

9 *Moore Deeds*, 340 (71) (75) (80).

documents down to the building of St. Nicholas in 1361.[10]

There can no longer be any doubt therefore that the Chapel del Key was in existence before the year 1257. It stood alone near high-water mark, on the shore of the Mersey: its little fane constituting "The Chapel of Liverpool," and its modest altar, the centre and shrine of public worship, "The High "Altar of Liverpool." The earliest ecclesiastical foundation in the town, it had dutifully been dedicated to the same saintly patroness as the mother church at Walton; and conveniently had been distinguished from that by the qualifying appellation alluding to its site on the quay. The peculiarity of this description is, itself, an evidence of great antiquity. It was never applied to the Chapel of St. Nicholas that, in 1361, was also erected on the quay; the fashion of such nomenclature having then apparently died out. It is very similar both in origin and purpose to the title of St. Mary del Dam, which existed near a mill-dam not far distant from St. Mary's Abbey Church, Dublin, in the twelfth century.[11]

During the first century of its existence we find no further glimpse of the chapel of Liverpool. Doubtless, like many small chapels scattered throughout the kingdom, it was but a capella indotata, possessing no endowment, and maintained by the offerings of the worshippers or subsidies of the commonalty. About 1353, the year in which Prince Henry became Duke of Lancaster and lord of the manor of Liverpool, he granted an endowment to St. Mary's. No direct deed of grant remains, but there are incidental evidences of the fact. The Rent Rolls of his successor in the dukedom, John of Gaunt, contain repeated entries of such a grant

10 *Moore Deeds*, 114, 162, 167, 174.
11 *History of Corn Milling*, vol. iv. Elton.

having been made; as, for instance, that of 1395:—'The value of the rents of my very dread lord the 'duke of Ghent. . . . Lyv'pulle is worth at 'farme £38, whereof an allowance of rent was 'given by Henry quondam Duke, whom God "assoil, to the Chapel there, 12*s.*; and the worth "clear therefore is £37 8*s.*" This was the endowment of the first chantry of Liverpool; established at the altar of St. Mary's, "the High Altar" of Liverpool. In the reforming confiscations of two centuries later we shall find that St. Mary's old altar still remained "the High Altar of Liverpool;" and that the foundation of its chantry was duly attributed to Duke Henry.

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About 1353, when the duke established this chantry, the enterprising corporation appear to have approached him with a request for an allotment of the land adjoining St. Mary's, for the erection of a larger chapel than that which had served for a century past, and for the provision of an adjoining burial ground. He only, as manorial lord, could grant this land; and he it was without doubt who, in due course, gave the required consent.[12] Upon the basis of this concession the corporation proceeded to lay out the land and build their new chapel, dedicated, appropriately enough, to the patron saint of those who go down to the

[12] An instance of Henry's practical personal participation in minutiæ of local ownership:—

Nous Henr' comite de Lancastr' & de Leicestr' seneschal D'engleter' avous donc &c la moitie d'un burgag & la quatre p'tie d'un burgage &c in Liverpool &c rendant p' an à nous & nos heirs &c et fesaunt deux app'ances p' an à noz deuz grauntes Courtz de Liverpol p'r touz s'vices. Don a Lich' le vijme iour de Decembr l'an du règne du Rex Edward tierz après le conquête douzième. [*Moore Deeds*, 116.]

We, Henry, Earl of Lancaster and Leicester, Seneshal of England, have given, &c., half of a burgage and the fourth part of a burgage in Liverpool, &c., rendering to us and our heirs yearly therefor, &c., and making two appearances per annum at our two principal courts at Liverpool, for all services. Given at Lichfield, 7 December, 12 Edward III.

sea in ships, St. Nicholas. In 1355 (not 1356 as the local historians have it) the work was completed by a grant of £10 per annum, derived from Duke Henry's local rentals as an endowment for the two conjoined chapels, for the performance of divine service and the celebration of masses for the dead. This grant also was made by Duke Henry, since it arose out of his own lands; but as it was affected by the statute of mortmain, a writ confirming it was issued by the King, 19 May, 29 Edward III, 1355:—

Pro majore & coĩtate ville de Liv'pull de licencia dandi ad manū mortua.

Rx omñibz ad quos &c. salutm̄. Sciatus q'd de grā nrā spāli concessimus & licenciam dedimus p nos & heredibz nrīs quantū in nob̄ est dilcīs nob̄ majori & coĩtate ville de Liv'pull in Ducatū Lancastr' q'd ips̄ decem libratas terraz teñ & reditū cū p'tin p' annū juxta verū valorem eord'm in ducatū p'dco quo dil'cō consanguiñ & fideli nrō Henr' duce Lancastr tenentr ut dicitur adquirere & eadm t'ras teñ & reditus cū p'tin dare possint & assignare c'tis capellanis divina siñglis diebz p aĩabz omñ fideliū defunctoz in capella bt̄e Mariæ & Sci Nicħi de Liv'pull juxta ordinatione majoris & coĩtatis p'dcoz celebratur; H'end & tenend eisdem capellanis & successoribz suis capellanis divina in capella p'dcā in formā p'dcā celebratur imp'petū: Et eisdem capellanis q'd ips̄ t'ras teñ & reditus p'dcā cū p'tin a p'fatis majore & coĩtate recipe possint, & tenere sibi & successoribz suis capellanis divina in capella p'dcā celebratur imp'ptū, statuto de t'ris & ten ad manū mortuam non ponend edito non obstante Dum tamen p' inquisicões inde in forma debitū capiend & in cancellar̄ nrā vel heredum nrōz rite retornand comptu sit q'd i'd fieri possit absq dampnū vel p'judicio nrī vel heredum nrōz aut alioz quozcumque. In cujus, &c.

Teste Rx apud Westm̄ xix die Maii.
p brē de privato sigillo.[13]

Brooke gives the following rendering of the above "from a copy in English at the Town Hall":—

The King, to whom, &c., greeting. Know ye that of our especial grace we have granted and given license for us and our heirs, as much as in us is, to our beloved the mayor and commonalty of the town of Liverpool in the duchy of Lancaster, that they, the said £10 of lands, tenements and rents

13 *Patent Rolls*, 29 Ed. III.

with the appurtenances by the year, according to the true value of the same, in the duchy aforesaid, which they are bound to our beloved and faithful Henry, Duke of Lancaster, as it is said, to acquire; that the same lands, tenements and rents with appurtenances they may give and assign to certain chaplains to celebrate divine service every day for the souls of all the faithful deceased in the chapel of the Blessed Mary and St. Nicholas' of Liverpool, according to the order of the mayor and commonalty aforesaid: To have and to hold to the said chaplains and their successors, chaplains, to celebrate divine service in the chapel aforesaid in form aforesaid for ever; that they, the said chaplains, the lands, tenements and rents aforesaid with appurtenances from the before-named mayor and commonalty may receive and hold to them and their successors, chaplains, to celebrate divine service in the chapel aforesaid for ever; the statute concerning lands and tenements not to be put to mortmain notwithstanding.

By the inquisitions thereon in due form to be taken, and to be rightly returned into the Chancery of us or our heirs, it is found that the same may be done without the hurt or prejudice of us or of our heirs or of others whomsoever.

Witness, the King, at Westminster, the 19th day of May.
By writ of Privy Seal.[14]

The historians uniformly state that the foregoing document was directed to Richard de Aynsargh, who, they say, is the first known mayor.[15] But, as will be noted, it was not so directed, and the name of the mayor does not appear in it. Nor was Aynsargh the mayor in 1355, but William fil Adam, the "worthy burgess" known to the historians by his will, which they print. The above document is dated 19 May, 29 Edward III; and a month later—Pentecost, 29 Edward III—a local deed was witnessed by "William fil. Ade. tunc maiore ville "de Lyv'pull."[16] Nor yet is this year, 1355, that

[14] *Hist. Liverpool*, 1853. App. vi.

[15] "This is the earliest known document in which the mayor is named." Brooke. *Liverpool*, 31.

"In this reign we find mention of the mayor. It occurs in a letter "patent from Edward III, dated May 19, 1356 [1355], to Richard de "Aynsargh, mayor of the town of Liverpool." Picton. *Memorials*, i, 26.

"The first mention of a mayor occurs in this reign. It is contained in "a letter authorizing Richard de Aynsargh, mayor of Liverpool, to" &c. T. Baines. *Liverpool*, 159.

[16] *Add. MSS.* 32105, 215. See "Earliest Recorded Mayors" in this volume.

in which a mayor of Liverpool is first mentioned, as the same William the son of Adam, had signed a deed as mayor as early as 4 April, 26 Edw. III, 1352;[17] having therefore been elected in Oct., 1351, and being now entitled to take rank as the first recorded mayor of the town.[18]

The burial ground and new chapel were in progress in the year, 1355, when we read of "the "tenement of the Blessed Nicholas in le chapel-"strete"[19]; and at length, in the Ides of February, 1361, Bishop Stretton, of Lichfield and Coventry, duly issued his commission for the consecration of "the Chapel of St. Nicholas and the cemetery "contiguous thereto":—[20]

Commisio ad dedicandi capellam & cimiteriū construct in villa de Lytherpole.

Robtus p'missione divina Covent^r et Lich. Epūs dilis in C'to fil majori and burgen3 ville de Lytherpole nrē dioc. saltm̄ grā bn̄: Quia multiplicatē instancijs quibs̄ apd nos p dedicacōe capelle Sci Nichi de Lytherpole in poch de Walton ejusdem nr̄e dioc plurie instetistis certis de causis nob̄ p vos expositis favorabilitr inclinati ut p'fatm capellam ipī cū cimiteriū sibi contiguū p quencnq' Epm̄ Catholicū gratm̄ sedis aplice & execucom̄ suī officij obtinente dedicacōis munde insigniri facte sepulturam q' ibid herē libām valeat dutamen consensus vicarij dce ecclie & aliōr quibs

17 *Add. MSS.*, 32105, 219,

18 William de Grenulph, of 1352-3, has already been placed before R. de Aynsargh, who indeed was not mayor till 1364.—*L. & C. Trans.* 1897. "King's Mills of Ancient Liverpool."

19 *Moore Deeds*, 167.

20 This and the following deed are transcribed from copies made from the register at Lichfield in June, 1780, by Sir John Prestwich, of Prestwich, Bart. His copies were bound up among the Okill MSS. in about the year 1840. [*Okill MSS.*, iv, 412.] Since then, though various local historians have utilised them, they have never been quoted, nor the transcripts acknowledged; nor do they ever appear to have been collated with the originals. Prestwich appends a translation to each; these, with some few modifications, being adopted here.

While this paper is passing through the press, I have obtained, by the favour and goodwill of Mr. Hubert Courtney Hodson, Registrar of the Lichfield diocese, photographs of the two entries in the ancient Episcopal Act Book. These, which are reproduced in fac-simile in the frontispiece to this paper, may be useful for collating with the hitherto only available copies.

in hac p'te p'judicari pot'rit interveniat de volutate dicti in C'to filij magri Rici de Wynewyk nūc ipī ecclie rectoris licenciam tam vobis qm̄ prefato Epō tenore presenciū concedm̄ spatem: Ita tamen qd jura & obs'vanōes ejusdem ecclia de Walton ex hoc nullatenus minuantur. Dat apud Heywood iij idūs Februarij anno dm̄i millio ccc^mo sexagesimo primo, et cons̄ nr̄o secundo.[21]

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Commission for dedicating the chapel and cemetery built in the town of Liverpool.

Robert, by Divine permission Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, our beloved sons in Christ the mayor and burgesses of the town of Liverpool within our diocese, saluting in grace and peace:—

Whereas we, of certain and sundry reasons proposed by you and known to us, are favourably inclined and do consent that the chapel of St. Nicholas of Liverpool and the cemetery contiguous to it in the parish of Walton within our diocese may be dedicated by any Catholic bishop enjoying the grace and union of the Apostolic see, and obtaining the faculty of executing his office of sepulture; and that he may have liberty to constitute and appoint a burial place which you may have entirely free in that place: with this condition, that the consent of the vicar of the aforesaid church (and of others who as to this matter might be prejudiced or suffer thereby) is obtained; and also the voluntary consent of our beloved son in Christ, master Richard de Winwick licensed rector of the said church:

We therefore by these presents grant as well to you as to the aforesaid bishop this special license; always providing that the rights and observances of the said church of Walton be not in any way whatever diminished or changed by this entire proceeding.

Given at Heywood 3 Ides of February in the year of our Lord 1361; and, of our consecration, the 2nd.

On September 3, of the ~~same~~ year, 1361, the prelate granted license for burials "in the cemetery "of the chapel of St. Nicholas":—

Licencia sepeliendi ī cimit'io capella Sti Nichi de Litherpole

Robt &c. Epīcs diliis fit burgens ville de Litherpole nr̄e dioc' sā gr̄ et bn̄: Quia mort pestī & plaga in ith p'tibus & p'cipue apud vos qd indies ut accepimus invalescit nos magnifici & nobt viri dn̄i Leonelli com Ulstr vocivis instant excitrali ut corpa qd venz decedenciū in dcā villa in cimitrio capelle Sti Nichi ead villa sepelire facte

21 *Ecclesiastical Register*, Lichfield: v, 45.

licite valeat vot durante dcā pestilencia usqz fiñ Natal Dmi prox, futur licenc conced' de grā spāli: Ita qd jura q'cunq Ecclia poch debita eidm debite p'solva antr. Dat apd Heywoode iij die Septēbr anno &c. 1361.[22]

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License to inter in the cemetery of the chapel of St. Nicholas of Liverpool.

Robert, &c., Bishop, our well beloved sons, the burghers of the town of Liverpool in our diocese, saluting with grace, benediction and peace.

Whereas there is a pestilence or plague of a malignant nature in those parts and chiefly with you, which as we are informed daily increases; Therefore we, being moved by the strong representations of the noble and magnificent lord Lionel Earl of Ulster, do decree and permit to the same nobleman that he may lawfully cause to be interred the bodies of those who die during the said plague in the said town, in the cemetery of the chapel of St Nicholas in the said town, until the feast of the Nativity of our Lord next ensuing: after which further license of our special grace to be granted: The foregoing being conditional on the rights and privileges of the parish church being made good beforehand.

Given at Heywood, 3 Sept., the year, &c., 1361.

The mayor to whom the above commissions were addressed is not named. But as William the son of Adam had been mayor at the foundation and endowment in 1355, so was he at the consecration in February, 1361; deeds attested by him as mayor being dated on the Assumption (August) and the Nativity of the Virgin (Sept.), 35 Edw. III, 1361;[23] and he was re-elected in the following Oct. It may indeed here be stated that he held the mayoral dignity almost continuously from 1351 to 1362; and subsequently also for three further years —a magnificent record, unrivalled by that of any mayor of Liverpool except that of his friend and successor, Thomas del More.[24]

22 *Ecclesiastical Register*, Lichfield, v, 44.

23 *Moore Deeds*, 191, 183.

24 As no list of the early mayors of Liverpool, at all approaching completeness or accuracy, has ever been published, it may be useful if I accompany this paper with a list comprising the first and all whose names are to be gathered from documents for the century following; with precise dates and the references necessary for authentication. [*See p. 119.*]

Though the writ of endowment of 1355 refers to "the chapel of the Blessed Mary and St. Nicholas" as though they literally constituted one structure, yet both of the Commissions of the bishop in 1361 allude only to "the chapel of St. Nicholas" and its contiguous cemetery. This is distinct evidence of the prior dedication of St. Mary's at some date unknown.

Thus together, the two chapels stood in the one burial ground: the newer and larger edifice, on the site of the present St. Nicholas' Church, overlooking the older and smaller fane at its west end. The two constituted one aggregate "Chapel of Liver-"pool," but the altar of St. Mary's still remained the "High Altar of Liverpool." The conjoined chapels had been placed under the control and management of the mayor and commonalty by the endowment writ of 1355, and so they continued till the Reformation.

Within six months of the consecration of St. Nicholas' in 1361, John of Gaunt succeeded Duke Henry; and contributed his share to the enterprise by endowing the principal altar in the new chapel with a chantry dedicated to the patron saint of the same, "for the souls of him and his ancestors and "to make one yearly obit for his soul." This chantry of St. Nicholas was the third chantry of Liverpool; the second having been that of St. John; founded by a certain John of Liverpool, supposed to be one of that name who had represented West Derby in Parliament in 1326; the chantry therefore being apparently established in St. Mary's. In the same primitive chapel, was also founded the fourth chantry of Liverpool, that of St. Katherine, in 1515: the Reformation commissioner, Mildmay, being found reporting in 1548 that St. Nicholas' chapel had contained but "a" chantry.

On Sept. 8, 1361, five days after the bishop's

license was issued to inter in the chapel yard, an allusion occurs to the chantry :—William of Liverpool, clericus, granting a rental of 6*s.* 8*d.* "to God "and the Blessed Mary the Virgin and St. Nicholas "and one chaplain in the chapel of the same, a "celebrant of divine service, and his successors, "chaplains, at the chantry there, in perpetuity, as "may be ordained by the mayor and commonalty; "provided that the said chantry remains and does "not cease; but if the said chantry be extinguished "then the aforesaid grant shall cease."[25]

The next event in the history of St. Mary's is the death of the venerable William the son of Adam in 1383, and his interment, not in the new chapelyard, but, according to his will, "in the "Chapel of Liverpool before the white image of "the Virgin—in capella de Lyv'pull corā figuram "ymaginis albe Mariæ—where my sepulchre is "already appointed;"[26] and where, doubtless, was also laid many another of the old city fathers with whose names we are now familiar.

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Various accessions accruing to St. Mary's lands afford continuous evidence of the altar and chantry. In 1411, Nicholas, clericus, for the souls of Wm. de Penerth and all the faithful, granted[27] certain lands "to God, the Blessed Mary, and one "priest, to celebrate divine offices in the Chapel of "Liverpool at the altar of the Blessed Mary there, "subject to the arrangement—secundum dispossis-"sionem—of the mayor and commonalty."[28] In

25 *Moore Deeds*, 183.
26 *Crosse Deeds*, 77.
27 *Add. MSS.*, 32105, 451.
28 This land was in the Hethylands, or heathlands, near Eastham; and appears to be "the lands of St. Mary" which, in 1467, were stated to be juxta the lands of St. Jacobus of Birkenhead in the gallow field at Eastham [*Add. MSS.*, 32105, 695]: and which, in 1567, were described as certain sandlands, "shooting into Eastham Dale, and belonging to Our Lady "Hall" [*Porte Mote*, i, 386].

1459, an energetic attempt was made by the ecclesiastical authorities to restore the Chapel del Key; John, Bishop of Lichfield, on Dec. 14 in that year, granting indulgences for forty days to all who should help in the cause:—"to the "penitents confessed and contrite who should "expend bequeath give or in any way assign "charitable offerings to the constitution edification "reparation or reformation of the Chapel of the "Blessed Mary within the cemetery [of the] Chapel "of the town of L'pool,[29] commonly called the "Chapel of St Marie del Key standing and being "in honour of St. Marie the Virgin; also to those "who from a devotional feeling should contribute "to the sustenance of a mass chaplain to celebrate "in the same for the faithful departed, contributing "their goods to God and to him; or who should in "any way give proof of their love, whether by con-"tributing ornaments to the said chapel or lights "before the Image of the said Virgin in her honour "within the said chapel: The names of such bene-"factors to be devoutly mentioned whenever mass "should be said; and the rector and the vicar of "the parish of Walton to be empowered to cele-"brate masses and divine services in the said "chapel."[30] In 1464, Charles and Ellen Gelybrand granted land in Gerston to the mayor for "the "maintenance of a chaplain in the Chapel of St. "Mary commonly called St. Mary of the Key, to "celebrate divine service therein"[31]: or, as an alternative, "to the maintenance of a chaplain at the

[29] It is a manifest erroneous rendering of the original to state that St. Mary's Chapel was "within the cemetery Chapel" of St. Nicholas'. The actual reading of the original was, doubtless, "within the cemetery of "the chapel." This phrase is used in the original license for interments, in September, 1361; and occurs again in a deed of 1611, in connection with a dispute as to an ancient wall on the east side of the chapel yard: this being said to have been "orientalem p'tem cemeterij capellæ."—*Porte Mote*, ii, 746.

[30] *Ecclesiastical Register*, Lichfield (Hales), 124.

[31] *Porte Mote*, iii, 549.

"altar of St. Mary in the Chapel of St. Nicholas."[32] In 1470, one Robert Taillour, in conjunction with Margaret his daughter, granted to Edmund Crosse, mayor, and the commonalty, the reversion of a house in Chapel Street,—"for the sustenance of a "chaplain in the Chapel of Liverpool at the altar "of the Blessed Mary the Virgin, and for the habi-"tation of the priests of St. Nicholas and the "Blessed Mary del Key," the mayor by indenture agreeing to the same;[33] this being probably "the "minister's house and garden" in which, at the Reformation, we find the priest, Humfrey Crosse, and others of the chaplains living. In 1518, a deed by John Sharp, prior of St. Jacobus', Birkenhead, alludes to "the lands of the altar of St. Mary the "Virgin in the Chapel of Liverpool:" and in 1524 occurs a lease by Thos. Walker, mayor, of certain lands "appurtenant to the altar of St. Mary the "Virgin in the Chapel of Liverpool," the rent to be paid to the mayor "for a priest in the chapel "aforesaid at the altar of the Blessed Mary."[34] In 1529, Cecilia, widow of Ewan Halghton (mayor about twenty years before) granted lands in Wavertree and West Derby "for providing a chaplain to "celebrate divine service in the Chapel of the "Blessed Virgin and St. Nicholas at a certain "altar called Our Lady's Altar."[35] In 1531, Thomas Rose granted to Roger Fazakerley, mayor, a rental to sustain a chaplain "to celebrate in the Chapel "of the Blessed Mary the Virgin and St. Nicholas, "at a certain altar called le Roode Aulter."[36]

But, in the meantime, another and somewhat

[32] An obvious clerical error for "in the Chapel of Liverpool," as the altar of St. Mary was certainly not in the Chapel of St. Nicholas.

[33] *Okill MSS.*, xiv, 117.

[34] *Moore Deeds*, 350.

[35] *Porte Mote*, iii, 159.

[36] *Okill MSS.* xvii, 154.

novel endowment had been made to St. Mary's altar. Rector John Crosse, of St. Nicholas', Fleshamble, London, one of the heirs of the Crosses of Liverpool (descendants of Mayor Wm. fil Adam) bequeathed by will, dated 1515, a new Common Hall to the town: providing that "ye "seller," or arcade, beneath it should be for the benefit of "the priest who sings before Our Lady "of the Chapel of the Key":—

Item.—I will yt the maior and his brethren wt the burgesses of ye towne of Lyv'pull shall have ye new [so] called Our Ladye Howse to keep their Courts: and ye seller under to helpe ye preste yt synges afore Our Lady of ye Chappelle of ye Key. And he shall pray for ye soules of John Crosse, Avice Crosse, John Crosse and Hugh Botill, and all theire frendes soules. Ye saide pr'st shall giff yerelye vs to ye prest yt synges afore Saint Katerine: and all ye avauntage over shall be to ye use of the preste yt synges afore our Lady of ye Key.[37]

In the terms of this pious bequest, which established the fourth and last of the chantries of Liverpool, may be discerned, and for almost the last time, the two chapels in their zenith of sacerdotal wealth and prosperity:—in St. Mary's, the image of the Virgin still gleaming white on the High Altar; the priest at the shrine still chanting masses for founders and benefactors, many of them buried at his feet; the priests of St. John and St. Katherine at side altars: in the Chapel of St. Nicholas, the chantry of the same saint: and, out beyond, among the heaths and meadows, field after field of donated lands, yielding revenue to the establishment.

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In 1535, the Subsidy Commissioners for the Deanery of Warrington scheduled the chantries thus:[38]—

37 *Not. Cestr.* II, ii, 191.

38 *Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xxii (Duchy Records.)

Chantries at Liverpool :—

| | Tenths. s. | d. | Subsidy. s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| The foundation of John of Liverpool [St. John's]... | 7 | 4 | 6 | 7¼ |
| " " John Crosse [St. Katherine's]... | 9 | 6¼ | 8 | 7 |
| " " Henry, former Duke of Lancaster ... ... [St. Mary's]... | 9 | 6¼ | 8 | 7 |
| " " Henry and John, former Dukes of Lancaster [St. Nicholas']... | 7 | 7¼ | 6 | 4 |

The chantry priests, in the interim and till the Reformation, may now be conveniently stated. My first list is from Birch's transcript of "The King's "Rentally of Liverpool, 8 Oct., 24 Hy. VIII, 1533," shewing, *inter alia*, the rents of the chantries payable to the crown [39] :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Sir Rauffe Haworth for St. Nicholas' his lands ... | ij$^{s.}$ j$^{d.}$ |
| The lands of Our Lady pay$^{d}$ by Sir Richard Frodsham ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | xviij$^{d}$ |
| For the lands of St. Katherines pay$^{d}$ by Thomas Heckmough ... ... ... ... ... | vj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$ |
| The lands of St. John pay$^{d}$ by Sir Thomas Roley | j$^{s.}$ vj$^{d.}$ |

The Thomas Hickmough who paid for St. Katherine's appears not to have been a priest, but a trustee for that chantry, which probably was then vacant. Apparently he was a man of some moment and wealth. In the chantry schedule of 1548, his wife appears as renter of a burgage belonging to St. Katherine's, valued at 32*s.* 8*d.*, by far the most costly of all the chantry lands. The name of Thomas Hickmough occurs, 1575-1585, as Town's Customer, or overseer and collector of customs. In 1610, Thomas Hitchmough appears in the list of the purchasers of chantry lands ; paying for the above burgage (the rental of which had increased to 38*s.* 6*d.*) the highest figure at which any sale was made, viz., £55.

In 1534-35, at the time of Valor Ecclesiasticus, the priests were :—

39 Gregson's *Portfolio*, lxv.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chantry of | St. Nicholas ... ... | Sir Ralph Haworth. |
| " | Our Lady ... ... | Sir Richard Frodsham. |
| " | St. Katherine... ... | Sir Humphrey Crosse. |
| " | St. John... ... ... | Sir Thomas Rowley. |

We gain a glimpse of Frodsham's receipts from St. Mary's at this period from an entry copied into a later Corporation Book :—

It is commanded by the bench and the whole assembly that those rents here following should be written in this book [for 1558] word for word, as they be in the old precedents and broken minutes and single leaves :—*St. Marie's Aulter, the rent of Richard Frodsham, priest at Liverpool*—a copy whereof was found in an old book of the late John Hurdis priest of Liverpool.[40]

Frodsham's book had been found partly illegible, but the entries which could be re-copied amount to £5 13*s.* 8*d.* John Hurde had succeeded Thomas Rowley at St. John's chantry, and like Richard Frodsham was then a "priest *at* Liverpool"; but by 1558 he had become the first incumbent of St. Nicholas' church and, consequently, was the "priest *of* Liverpool."

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The suppression of monasteries, greater and lesser, had been in progress from 1535 to 1539 without, of course, bringing any of the commissioners to Liverpool; but in Nov., 37 Henry VIII, 1545, parliament granted to the king power to make a new departure in raiding all colleges, chapels, chantries, and hospitals, served by priests in receipt of incomes for celebrating masses for deceased founders and benefactors; visitations being immediately ordered. The establishment at Liverpool became subject to this ukase. The Commissioners for Lancashire and Cheshire, the Bishop of Chester, Sir Thomas Holcroft, and others, were directed to

40 *Porte Mote*, I, 59.

schedule, in accordance with the Act of 37 Henry VIII, the effects of all chantries, &c., and the salaries of stipendiary priests; the distance of such chantries, &c., from parish churches were to be stated "in order that we may know which shall "remain and which shall be dissolved;" and all plate, jewels, &c., were "to remain for such goodly "intent as we shall hereafter appoint": this goodly intent shortly directing the same to the mint at York. The historian, Baines, dismisses this entire subject with the remark—"The dissolution of mon-"asteries produced no material sensation in Liver-"pool, where there were only four chantries";[41] but it was not altogether an uneventful, apathetic event in the town, as will be seen.

Henry VIII dying in January, 1547, Parliament took up the accomplishment of his unfinished task; passing an Act in the first year of Edward VI, (Nov. 1547) vesting in the Crown all such colleges, chantries, and chapels, and all such revenues, enjoyed by priests for obits, &c., as were not possessed by the late King; the proceeds of the same to be devoted to the maintenance of grammar schools and preachers. It was by this Act that the Liverpool chantries actually passed to the Crown: the fact being stated in the Duchy Rolls of compoti of later bailiffs:—"Accounts of all "and singular the bailiffs of all the lands, colleges, "chapels and chantries in Lancashire belonging to "and being in the hands of the lord the king by "reason of a certain Act of Parliament 4 Nov. "1 Edw. VI"—the Liverpool chantries being included in these. In Feb., 1548, the Privy Council accordingly ordered all images in chapels to be destroyed, all plate brought in to the King's use, and all vestments and altar cloths sold for the benefit of the poor: following this, in April, with

[41] *Hist. Lanc.*, v, 121.

another order directing all chantry lands to be sold, and appointing Sir Walter Mildmay[42] to treat for such sale. Some years later, Queen Mary was at great pains to extract from the Rolls all records of these seizures of ecclesiastical property by decrees of Henry VIII, and on the whole was tolerably successful in depriving history of a mass of detailed information. A few of the records escaped, and among them, those of Lancashire and Cheshire; which probably owe their preservation to the chantry lands being claimed by the Duchy as private property of the Crown.

The commission of Henry VIII referring to Liverpool is undated, but was evidently issued between November, 1545, and January, 1547, when Henry died; though it seems to have been the year 1548 when the visitation was actually made. A copy of the record taken from the *Blundell MSS.* has been printed by the Chetham Society, the present essential portions of which are as follow:[43]

The chantry at the Altar of St. John in the Chapel of Liverpool.

John Hurde, priest, incumbent. Of the foundation of John of Liverpool to celebrate there for the souls of his ancestors. Of the nomination of the mayor and burgesses. The same priest doth celebrate there according to the statutes of his foundation.

1 chalice of 8 oz., 2 vestments, 1 superaltar [stone altar top, incised with five crosses], 1 mass book.

Rental of chantry lands and tenements [as detailed] £5 5*s.* 1*d.* per annum. Repayments, none.

The chantry at the Altar of St. Katherine, within the said Chapel.

Humphrey Crosse, priest, incumbent. Of the foundation of John Crosse to celebrate for the soul of the said founder and to do one yearly obit and distribute at the same 3*s.* 4*d.* to poor people: and also the incumbents hereof by their foundation

42 Bishop Burnet in his *Reformation* styles this official Sir Henry. In the Liverpool Records the name is Sir Walter.

43 *Blundell MSS.*: Miscell. v, 45.

are bound to teach and keep one grammar school, to take their advantage of scholars, saving those that bear the name of Crosse, and poor children. This same is at the altar of St. Katherine within the Chapel of Liverpool and at this day the said incumbent doth celebrate, distribute and teach according to his said foundation.

1 chalice of 2 oz., 2 old vestments, 1 mass book, 1 superaltar.

The same priest and his fellows have one manor house in the said town with one garden adjoining worth by the year 20 pence.

Rental of chantry lands and tenements £4 14*s.* 2*d.* with 1*s.* 8*d.* for the priest's house: total £4 15*s.* 10*d.* per annum. Repayments, none.

[Included in the list is "one annual rent payd for the "custome house 5*s.*": being the 5*s.*, which, in 1515, Rector Crosse had stipulated the priest at the high altar of St. Mary's should pay to the priest at St. Katherine's altar out of his receipts from "ye sellar" under the Town Hall; this now being used as the warehouse or custom house. Gregson, in his *Portfolio* (1824: lxij) erroneously conjectures this to be later custom house at the bottom of Water Street.]

The chantry at the High Altar, within the aforesaid Chapel.

Ralph Haworth, priest, incumbent. Of the foundation of Henry late Duke of Lancaster, to celebrate for the souls of his ancestors.[44] The same is at the High Altar in the said chapel. The said incumbent is there celebrating accordingly.

Plate. None, for so moche as the s^d preste doth celebrate with the chaliz and other ornaments p'teyninge to the inhabitants of the same towne.

Rental of chantry lands and tenements £5 15*s.* 11d.: whereof paid to our sovereign lord the king to the hand of his bailiff of [West] Derby for chief rent 2*s.* 3*d.*: and so remaineth £5 13*s.* 8*d.* per annum.

The chantry of St. Nicholas within the said Chapel.

Richard Frodsham, priest, incumbent. Of the foundation of John sometime Duke of Lancaster, to celebrate for the souls of him and his ancestors. The same is in the said chapel, the said priest remaining and celebrating there according to his foundation.

44 It is obvious that the foundation attributed to Duke Henry is that of the chantry, and is not to be understood as that of St. Mary's Chapel in which the chantry was established.

1 chalice of 10 oz, 2 vestments, 1 mass book, 1 superaltar.
Rental of chantry lands and tenements £5 14*s.* 5*d.* per an.
Repayments, none.

There are in existence two or three variations of the visitations. In the records[45] is a Latin schedule, part of which was printed in the 1868 edition of Baines' *Lancashire*,[46] but was apparently omitted from that of 1893; the rentals of the chantries in this being:—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| St. Katherine's (including the so-called custom house 5*s.*, and the priest's house) | 6 | 1 | 6 |
| St. John's ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 5 | 4 | 8 |
| St. Nicholas' .. ... ... ... ... ... ... | 4 | 15 | 9 |
| The High Altar ... ... ... ... ... ... | 6 | 2 | 1 |

The following is another variation, "made from "the original rolls by Thomas Birch, of Birch, "1664," and included in Gregson's collection of miscellanies:—[47]

Leverpoole.
The chantry of the High Altar.

The chantry of the High Altar within the Chappell of Leverpoole, of the foundation of Henry Duke of Lancaster to celebrate there for the soules of him and his ancestors, which is observed accordingly, and the graunt is for ever.

Raph Haward incumbent is of the age of 50 years: hath the yearly revenue of v$^{l.}$ xix$^{s.}$ x$^{d.}$ for his salary: besides his living is x$^{l.}$

The lands and tenem̄ts belonging to the same valent per an. vj$^{l.}$ ij$^{s.}$ j$^{d.}$, in reprises ij$^{s.}$ iij$^{d.}$, and soe remaines there yearly value v$^{l.}$ xix$^{s}$ x$^{d.}$ and payd by these, vizt.:—

Cant' apud Sum' Altar in Capell' pd. redditis de Burgh:—
[List of Tenants paying in all £6 2*s.* 1*d.*]

The ornaments belonging to this chantry are valued at ij$^{s.}$
The number of ounces of plate are viij by estimation

Chantry of St. Nicholas.

The chantry att the Altar of St. Nicholas within the Chappell of Leverpoole—Of the foundation of John duke of

45 *Duchy Records*, Bundle U, No. 3.
46 *Hist. Lanc.*, iv, 94.
47 *Portfolio*, 1824, lxii.

Lancaster, to celebrate there for the soules of him and his ancestors and to make one yearly obiit for his soule, which is observed accordingly, and the grant is for ever.

Richard Frodsham is the incumbent, of 80 yeares of age, and hath for his salary cxiiij$^{s.}$ vij$^{d.}$ ; besides his liveing is xl$^{s.}$ ; the lands and tenements which belong to the same, viz. :—

[List of Tenants whose total payments are £5 14*s.* 7*d.*]

The ornaments and plate belonging to this chantry of St. Nicholas are none.

Chantry of St. John in Leverpoole,

The rentally belonging to the chantry att the Altar of St. John was of the foundation of John of Leverpoole there for the soules of his ancestors for ever, which is done accordingly.

John Hurd is the present incumbent, of the age of 50 yeares, and hath the cleere yearly revenue of the same for his salary: and his living besydes is ij$^{l.}$

[List of Tenants whose payments amount to £5 7*s.* 8*d.*]

The ornaments belonging to the chantry of St. John are valued to forty shillings: besides viij ounces of plate for chalice.

Chantry of the Altar of St. Katharine in the Chappell of Leverpoole.

Of the foundation of John Crosse, to celebrate there for his soule and to doe one yearly obiit: and to distribute att the same iij$^{s.}$ iv$^{d.}$ to poore people, and alsoe to keepe a school of grammer free for all childrenn bearing the name of Crosse and poore children, which is *not*[48] observed accordingly: and the grant is for ever.

Humfrey Crosse is the incumbent and hath for his salary the proffits thereof bein vj$^{l.}$ ij$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$ being 50 years of age and his living besides is ij$^{l.}$ The ornaments belonging to it valent iij$^{s.}$ besides xij ounces of plate.

Redditus cant' Katherine, viz. :

Redd' annuatim exeunt' de le Custome howse v$^{s.}$

Mansion incumbentis ibid' cum gardino adjacent [no rent].

Firma unius burgagii et ij acres tre ibid' in ten' uxoris Thome Hychmore [Hickmough] xxxij$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$

[And other receipts, amounting to £6 1*s.* 6*d.*]

And these fower chantryes were all that did belong to the Chappell of Leverpoole.

The corporation, who had no doubt long anticipated this raid, had accumulated at the High Altar

[48] The insertion of the word *not* by Birch in his copy appears to be unwarranted: and may have been intended as a reflex of his own opinion of the state of the grammar school in 1664.

in St. Mary's all the plate, ornaments, and vestments which they could claim as town property; and the sorry array of a chalice, a mass-book, and two vestments, arranged with suspicious exactitude and austerity at each of the three minor altars, assuredly did not represent the wealth of gorgeous ceremonial accessories of the chapels. But something, however, the royal receiver did seize; and on 4th Feb., 1550, having delivered into the mint at York 433 oz. of silver plate, collected in this part of Lancashire, he made a further entry in his account:—

Memo.—That sins the delyv'ie into the Mynt of York I found out for the Kyng these pcells followinge, which I caused to be delyv'd unto Mr. Raynshawe the Receiv'r of this court,[49] viz.: . . . one chalice of the chantery of Liv'pole xiii oz.: one other chalice of Liv'pole vij oz [50]

Such are the closing scenes in the history of the chantries of Liverpool. Post obit masses were stopped and the priests ejected; the white image of the Virgin del Key disappeared from its shrine: the High Altar was abolished; St. Mary's was closed; and worshippers now congregated before "the communion table" within the corporation Church of St. Nicholas, which no royal commissioner could seize.

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The chantry lands, though scheduled in 1548, were not sold, nor were they even confiscated to the Crown on behalf of the nation; but were appropriated by the Sovereign as lands pertaining to his own private Duchy of Lancaster; and are subsequently found held as of Elizabeth's royal manor of East Greenwich. They were let on lease by the Duchy as soon as seized. Those of St. Katherine (at £6 1*s.* 6*d.*) St. John (at £5 4*s.* 8*d.*) and St. Nicholas (at £4 15*s.* 9*d.*)—the rentals scheduled in

49 Richard Renshaw, gent., receiver of the Duchy, 3 Ed. VI, who certifies as to certain chantry rentals in the Birch copy of the Schedule of Henry VIII.

50 *Ch Soc.*, lix, 21.

the Duchy rolls lately mentioned—are stated in that roll to be leased for 30 years from Easter, 2 Edw. VI, 1548, to Sir Richard Molyneux; the lands of the High Altar (at £6 2*s.* 1*d.*) being stated to be leased at the same time, for 21 years, to a Richard Wrightington: this document being signed by William Paget, Chancellor of the Duchy.[51] The corporation, however, who had previously been lessees of St. Nicholas' chantry lands, seem to have considered they had now some claim on the lands of St. Mary's, and soon came into conflict with Wrightington. He thereupon appealed to the chancellor of the Duchy, pleading that the King had granted to him, on 2nd June, in the second year of his reign [1548], one chantry in Liverpool, with all the lands and tenements thereto appertaining, for 21 years, at £6 2*s.* 1*d.* per annum; yet the mayor and commonalty had wrongfully deprived him of the same. An injunction was issued, directing Edward Gee, mayor, and the commonalty, to suffer the petitioner to occupy the said lands according to the terms of the said lease, "or ells to appere";[52] but in a few years' time the town is found in possession of the coveted lease.

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The corporation at this troubled period, jealously watchful over the interests of the town, devoted their attention to the conservation of their own corporate chapel of St. Nicholas, which, now that it contained a chantry no longer, was, so far, free from inquisitorial visitations. St. Mary's they still had on their hands; it was an ancient place, either of unknown origin or definitely known to be of monastic foundation, and typical of religious ceremonials which were not to be permitted.

51 *Duchy Rolls*, bundle U, No. 4.

52 *Duchy Pleadings*, II, xii, 84.

Consequently they resolved to abandon it in favour of St. Nicholas', necessarily relinquishing at the same time the ancient conjoined designation. "The Chapel of the Blessed Mary and St. "Nicholas." For maintaining their new church the corporation had no income from chantry lands and no endowment; but, in no wise discouraged, selecting from among the ejected priests John Hurde, formerly of St. John's chantry, they appointed him their first incumbent, and guaranteed his stipend from the town: Paget, chancellor of the Duchy, thereupon entering on his already quoted leases of the consficated lands, that reparations of great timber and slate at the church "have "been" at the charge of the incumbent, and, inferentially, therefore, would not be at the charge of the Duchy in the future.

In view of the possibility of further raids, most of the valuable effects of the church seem to have been kept discreetly away from the edifice; the city fathers doubtless knowing something of the late tactics of abbots and priors in various parts of the country, who had saved much monastic property from royal seizure. No direct information of local events at the time is ascertainable, as the first of the Corporation Books of Record only commences in 1555, when they were all over. Some few relics of the book for this exact time were in existence in 1558, in "half-"blind letters" and "broken minutes and single "leaves," and were then re-copied; but they are of no present use.[53]

[53] For the preservation of these we are indebted to the memory of Wm. Moore, mayor, most of them being taken from scripts in his own hand:—"Precedents, for our better memory repeated as aforesaid at and "in this present assembly and pondered and weighed, finding good "matter therein;" on the basis of which "like proceedings for the "common weal of our said town have been thought good further to "devise by the whole consent of the Assembly, therefore, gentle reader, "turn the leaf;" the next page reporting the appointment of a committee thereupon.—*Porte Mote*, i, 44, 62.

A visitation of another character next ensued; this time to the new St. Nicholas' Church. A copy of the report of the Sir Walter Mildmay, already mentioned, is entered in *Porte Mote* book for 1558, but the visitation took place in 1548, immediately after the corporation had installed John Hurde as their incumbent:—

We Sir Walter Myldemaie knight and Robt. Kelwaie esq. commissioners appointed by the king's majesty's commission under the great seal of England to us directed touching order to be taken for the maintenance and continuance of schools preachers and priests and curates of necessity, for serving of cures and administering of sacraments; and for money and other things to be continued and paid to the poor; To the right honourable Sir Wm. Paget Chancellor of the Duchy &c. greeting.

Forasmuch as it appeareth by the certificate of the particular surveyors of the king's majesty's lands that the chapel of Liverpool in the par. of Walton wherein there was a chantry founded is a chapel of ease distant four miles from the parish church of Walton; and therefore very necessary to continue for divine service and administration ef sacraments: . . . [They recommend] that the said chapel shall continue, and John Hurdis incumbent thereof shall serve there and have for his wages £4 17*s.* 5*d.* yearly. . . .

A true copy made by order of Thomas More, gent., 27 Sep., 2 Ed. VI, 1548.[54]

John Hurde, who had about 1548 made the copy of Frodsham's rental from St. Mary's in 1534-5, appears to have died shortly after this visitation, and to have been succeeded by a cleric, apparently Sir John Ianson, appointed by the town. He seems to have soon tired of his engagement and sought a more congenial clime; the opening page of the first town-book which remains, that for 1551, containing the entry:—

We find that the clerk of the chapel shall have no wages of the town from his departure out of the town into Spain.[55]

54 *Porte Mote*, i, 48.

55 In 1551 the corporation order to be paid all rents owing to the rood altar since Sir John Iyenson *departed.*– *Porte Mote*, i, 58.

At the same meeting the corporation, quietly conducting their ecclesiastical affairs with a view to possible further developments arising in high quarters, passed the significant resolution :—

> We find that the church goods shall be called for and put in a place together to the town's use, and all the commons of the town may be privy to the same.[56]

They also appointed at the same time all the borough officials (except a minister), including among the number "the churchwardens," Henry Bailey and Gilbert Rigby; two gentlemen who were soon called upon to take part in another visitation to the new church. An order of the Privy Council, issued in 1552, directed commissioners to examine what plate, jewels, &c., were at the churches, and compare the same with the inventories taken in 1548; further, to give at their discretion one or two or more chalices of silver to each church or cathedral, and forward the remainder to the king's treasury; also to allow sufficient linen for "the communion table" and for surplices, and sell the remainder for the benefit of the poor. It is already evident that at Liverpool the whole of the effects had not been inventoried in 1548, and had been indeed "called for and put together in "a place for the town's use" within a few months past. In due course, however, when, in Oct., 1552, the commissioners appeared at St. Nicholas', the formidable list of forbidden articles of value was at length produced and entered in *Duchy Depositions and Examinations* :—

Liverpool Chapel.

This indenture made the 4th day of October in the 6th yr of the reign of our sovereign lord Edward VI &c. [1552] between [the local commissioners] the Rt. Hon. Edward Earl of Derby, Sir Thos. Gerrard, and Thomas Boteler esq. of the

56 *Porte Mote*, i, 1.

one part, and the chapel reeves Henry Bailiff and Gilbert Rigbye of the other part;

Witnesseth that we the said commissioners have delivered at the time of sealing and delivery hereof to the said reeves:—

viij vestments—
- j redde braunched [*embroidered*] silke.
- j blue sattyn.
- iij dornyxe [*Flemish*] silke redde and grene with blue crosses.
- j yelowe sattyn bridges [*of Bruges: Brussels*] olde.
- j braunched silke with blue crosses.
- j unwatered chamlet [*camlet: hair shirt*].

j coape [*outer robe*] white garnished with redde say.
j coape blue sattyn bridges.
j coape dune [*dun coloured*] sattyn bridges.
j torne coape.
iiij albes [*linen surplices*].
ij amyces [*amices: silk neckerchiefs*].
iiij stoles [*long bands worn round the neck*].
iij fanace [*fannel: a scarf worn on the left arm*].
v corporases [*cloths of linen, for covering the consecrated elements*].
ij corp'as cases [*cases for the above cloths*].
ij tynacles [*tabernacles, containing the Host*].
j chalice.
j pax of silver [*tablet, engraved with figure of the Saviour: kissed by worshippers, in token of peace*].
j grette belle belonginge to the s^d^ chappel:—

safely to be kept to the use of our sovereign lord the King. The said reeves for them and their executors do covenant and grant by these presents to and with the said commissioners that the premisses or any part thereof shall not at any time hereafter be alienated, embezzled, or otherwise put away from our said sovereign lord the King, but shall be answerable and forthcoming to the use of his highness at such time and times as his majesty or his honourable court shall demand the same.

These goods it will be noted are not valued, nor does any later appraisement or seizure of them appear; so that it is probable they were ultimately left for disposal by the corporation who were undertaking the support of the new church. But however this may have been arranged, the corporation had no further difficulties with the authorities

on the score of ritual. During the years 1552-3 the town's record book was not posted.

But even yet the corporation was not rid of ecclesiastical commissions, as the empty chapel of St. Mary's was still in existence. In the beginning of 1553,[57] a commission was issued by the King to Sir Thos. Gerard, Sir R. Sherburne, and others, to enquire what lands, tenements, bells, chalices, stocks of kine, money, &c., lately belonging to any college, chapel, &c., or stipendiary priest, within the counties of Lancaster and Stafford, ought to have come to the hands of the King by force of a certain Act of Parliament (that of 1 Ed. VI, 1547); but had not done so. Edward Parker, the receiver, visited various places, gathering up what fragments had not been collected in 1548 or 1552: and in Oct., 1553, arrived at Liverpool. He discovered that the old chapel of St. Mary was not corporate property, as was St. Nicholas', and accordingly seized and sold it; the purchasers being the corporation, who, on March 31, paid 20*s.* for the empty fabric. He also came across a silver pyx—the little casket in which the consecrated wafer was kept—that had belonged to St. Mary's, and sold that, next day, for 33*s.* 4*d.*:—

Value of divers chapels, valued and appraised by the comissioners of the lord the King, whose names and valuation appear in particulars elsewhere:—

Capella bte Marie de le Key Lytherpol xx*s.*

Last day of March, anno 7 of the King.

Plate—The sum of 33*s.* 4*d.* received among other things from the aforesaid commissioners, being the price of one pyx of silver belonging to the former Chapel of Liverpool as per indenture given by the s^d^ Edward Parker the 1^st^ day of April, anno 7 of the King.[58]

57 A writ by Queen Mary citing this commission, (issued for collecting other arrears), quotes the date of its appointment as 10 Nov., 7 E. VI, but Edward died in July of the seventh of his reign; and the correct date seems to have been March, 7 E. VI. 1553.

58 *Duchy Depositions:* P. & M., vol. 5, R. 2.

With this paltry little record closes the sacerdotal life of St. Mary's, though the mere building itself remained in existence for yet a couple of centuries.

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The corporation continued to make steady progress with the re-establishment of St. Nicholas', continuing the services by incumbents for whose salaries the town was held responsible.

On 12th August, 1555, we learn that the third minister had been one Sir Evan; the corporation recording that, "It is enquired how the priest Sir "Evan should be answered of his wages which is "behind this day for . . .", no result of the inquiry being stated.[59] But on the same day they made definite provision for Sir Evan's successor, "Nicho-"las Smyth, clericus and serviens eccle." :—

> It is ordered that those persons whose names be here written, every two persons for their streets, shall move their neighbours for the Clerk's wages, that is to say wages for Nicholas Smyth our clerk of the chapel and teacher of their children; who have concluded, and a book is made of . . . good and lawful money of England to be made good and paid to the s^d^ Nicholas during his life; also the moiety or one dimidium of the corn market [toll] is given to him; as per indentures made and sealed, &c. And for want of having the one dimidium of the corn market [toll] he to have thirty shillings by the hands of the officers for the time being in that behalf.

At the same meeting it was further examined as to "certain money raised for the new adorning of "the church."

It was not till 1565 that the recommendation made by Sir W. Myldmaie in 1548, that "the chapel "should continue" and "the incumbent there "should have his wages £4 17*s.* 5*d.* yearly," bore fruit; Elizabeth issuing letters patent, 30th Oct. of the above year, authorising the burgesses and their executors to nominate, subject to the consent

59 *Porte Mote*, i, 10.

of the bishop of Chester, a suitable person to be minister of the said chapel; her majesty's receiver of the duchy being empowered to pay the salary of the same.[60] With this grant the City Fathers, who had well done their part for the church in the past few years of stress and trouble, were relieved of further anxiety.[61]

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We may now revert to the fate of the lands of the chantry del Key, last seen leased in 1548 for 21 years to Wrightington. The corporation soon contrived to secure the lease from the Duchy. Incidental evidence shews that they held it in 1558. In that year they direct that "a cow belonging to "to the [late] Rood Altar" shall be restored: also that "all rents due to the [late] Rood Altar since "Sir William Iyenson departed shall be paid to the "officers before appointed:[62] (the old term "Rood

60 *Not. Cestr.*, ii, 192.

61 In 1564 it was resolved to have "the wooden roof of the steeple" repaired [*Porte Mote*, i, 230.] In 1572 various people in town confessed to having "organ pipes" and other church property in their possession [*Ibid*, ii, 35.] In 1573 it was ordered that the church walls should be built [*Ibid*, iii, 59, 169.] In 1628 was added "a ring of bells" (though Baines says a peal was first introduced in 1746, *Hist. Lanc.*, v, 150), and they were re-cast in 1636. The whole of these matters were included in the ordinary business affairs of the corporation.

The church was found a very useful place for other than religious purposes:—In 1555, "on New Year's day, was served with injunctions in "the chapel of Liverpool Master Mayor and the bailiffs," at the instance of Sir R. Molyneux, who had a suit against them [*Porte Mote*, i, 36. In 1566 an assembly, convened for discussing the retailing of wines, which could come to no conclusion, "broke up and departed: but stay therein "was taken and the matter prorogued till Sunday next after: which "Sunday the burgesses were summoned in church according to use. But "discord grew between divers persons so that nothing was agreed to this "Sunday. Prorogued again to the next Sunday" [*Ibid*, i, 362.] In April of the same year "Master Mayor, by the Sergeant his officer, in "church recommended all the burgesses to give their attendance upon "him and his brethren in the common hall the same day after dinner" [*Ibid*, i, 322] In 1572 Parliament having granted the Tenths and Fifteenths to the Queen, John Moore, collector of the same, ordered "payment to be made to him by the bailiffs at Liverpool Church, on "January 3, before 10 o'clock afore noon" [*Ibid*, i, 20.] In 1582 "We "agree there shall be no sales in the church" [*Ibid*, ii, 254.]

62 *Porte Mote*, i, 57, 58.

"Altar" being last quoted in 1531.) But definite evidence occurs in a compotus of Ralph Ashton, receiver of the Duchy[63]:—"The late chantry of "the High Altar, £6 2*s.* 1*d.*: for the farme of all "that late chantry and all the lands and tenements "to the said late chantry belonging: so let to the "mayor bailiffs and burgesses of the town of Liver-"pool by indenture under the seal of the Duchy, "dated 3 May in the — year of the reign of Eliza-"beth the Queen."[64]

St. Mary's and the whole of the lands were thus leased out till 1588, when Queen Elizabeth at length alienated them: and in 1597 they came on the market, and were disposed of to various persons. The utmost that the local histories contain with reference to these transactions is comprised in the trifling and incorrect statement of Croston:—"The "property of the chantries seems to have passed "by purchase, soon after the Reformation, into the "possession of Sir Thos. Hesketh and Mr. Ash-"worth, but was sold by them to a number of "individual purchasers under the sanction of Thos. "Hockenhall mayor."[65] For half a century, however, after the Reformation, as will be seen, these chantry lands were reserved intact by the Duchy and various successive holders; and it was not till 1610 that Thomas Hockenhall, mayor, (who could not "sanction" or otherwise affect the sale) affixed his signature as a witness to a last list of purchasers. The manner in which the lands passed from the Crown to private owners is shewn

63 Duchy Receiver's Accounts, 1577.

64 In 1558 the corporation were also leasing the St. Nicholas chantry lands, under Sir R. Molyneux. Its rental, "now corrected," was entered then, the receipts being £6 7*s.* 7½*d*, as against £4 15*s.* 9*d.*, at which the Duchy leased them. Also Mr. Sekerston "laid down 5*s.* upon the checker "in presence of the bench and the whole assembly for his fine and ingres-"sion of these lands which belong to [the late] St. Nicholas' Altar." —*Porte Mote*, i, 59.

65 *Hist. Lanc.*, v, 150.

in the title deed of one, Wm. Cooke of Liverpool, who purchased for £50 certain fields yielding a rental of 24*s.* 4*d.* per annum :—

Queen Elizabeth on the 30 May, 1588, granted to Sir Moile ffinch of Eastwell, co. Kent, knight, and John Awdley, gent. the four late dissolved chantries in Liverpool, viz. St. Katherine, St John, St. Nicholas, and the High Altar; which Sir Moile ffinch (John Awdley being dead) conveyed on the 13 September, 36 Eliz., 1594, to Sir Thos Heneage knight, vice-chamberlain, who by a deed indented of the date of the 14 July, 37 Eliz., 1595, did bargain and sell them to Edward Earl of Worcester, Henry Earl of Southampton, and Sir John Fortescue knight: who for ten shillings granted them to Sir Thos. Hesketh and William Ashurst on the 14 July, 39 Eliz., 1597: To be held as of her manor of East Greenwich: paying to her majesty the reserved rent. Sir Thos. Hesketh and William Ashurst for £50 paid to them by Wm. Cooke of Liverpool, husbandman, conveyed [certain lands] to him by this deed. Dated 20 April, 40 Eliz., 1598.

Signed, Thos. Hesketh, Wm Ashurst.[66]

This William Cooke's name appears in the following list :—

A true and perfect note of all the chantry tenants of Liverpool that purchased any lands belonging to the chantries from Sir Thos. Hesketh and Mr Ashurste: and what every several tenant's rent is and what he paid in purchase. And these things appear by the certificate of Thomas Hokenhall, mayor [1610], for the notification of the truth in time to come.

| | Purchase. | | | Rent. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ralph Secome ... ... | £3 | 0 | 0 | £0 | 1 | 2 |
| Mr Richard Rose ... .. | 50 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 8 |
| Mr Edmund Rose ... ... | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Robt. Mercer ... ... | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 5 |
| Rowland Johnson ... ... | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Mr Robert Moore ... ... | 39 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| Thos Tarleton ... ... | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| Elizabeth Holden ... ... | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Humfrey Ferypolices ... | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Crosse ... ... | 0 | 14 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Nicholas Fazakerley .. | 54 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 17 | 0 |
| Cuthbert Lawrence ... | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Lanslett Walker ... ... | 30 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 18 | 6 |
| Richard Abraham ... ... | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 4 |

[66] *Moore Deeds*, 400.

| | Purchase. | | | Rent. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wm. Eccleston ... ... | 37 | 9 | 0 | 1 | 15 | 8 |
| Thomas Hitchmough ... | 55 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 16 | 8 |
| Thomas Lurting ... ... | 30 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 9 | 0 |
| Thos. Dison als Ricson ... | 15 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| Wm. Cooke.. ... ... | 50 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 4 |
| Thos. Bickstath ... ... | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| John Blackmore ... ... | 12 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| Robt. Mellinge ... ... | 3 | 6 | 8 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Robt. Lurting (fine) ... | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Edwd. Robinson ... ... | 40 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Thos. Fox ... ... ... | 16 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 9 |

Walter Chambers gave Mr Ashurst £16.

Mr Rose will give for The Merlin [a tavern] £50.

Robert Ridinge for Allerton's £4.

Joseph Abram must give £10.

Mr Rose will give for Robert Lurting and Robt. Melling's houses £10 [an increase of £1 13*s.* 4*d.* on their combined value].[67]

The total capitalised value of the lands as above amounts to the sum of £560 3*s.*; and the annual rental £15 0*s.* 5*d.*[68]

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At this stage another phase of our little history brings us into association with the first and the second Town Halls of Liverpool. The first was the House of the Blessed Mary, mentioned in a deed of 4 Henry VIII, 1512[69]:—

Be it known, &c. I Elizabeth Jackson have granted &c. to Henry Shaw four shops in Liverpool adjacent to the Crosse of the sd town in the market street there, abutting on a certain house called the House of the Blessed Mary:—adjacente crucē dicte villæ in via marcato ibm̄ abuttant sup' quædam domū vocat' Domus Beate Mariæ.[70]

67 *Moore Deeds*, 112; Gregson's *Portfolio*, 1824, lxiv; *Duchy Records*, Lib. B.

68 Gregson (*Portfolio* 36) gives the rental of the four chantries as £22 10*s.* 2*d.*; Baines (*Lanc.*, v, 150) says the total revenues at the dissolution from lands and tenements amounted to £23 0*s.* 11*d.*

69 *Harl. MSS.*, 2042, 255.

70 The term occurs again in a reconveyance, in 1549, of the same "foure shoppis nigh the high crosse buttinge on Our Lady Howse," —*Harl. MSS.*, 2042, 256.

In this hall we may certainly recognise an ancient religious hospice, a Domus Dei, an appanage, at Juggler Street in the market place, of the chapel of Our Lady del Key; and designated variously as the house of "Our Lady," or, in allusion to its charitable mission, "Our Lady of Mercy." Mention of this favourite title may be found in the corporation book rental of 1551: "Item vj$^{d.}$ goying "owte of barbons lands gyven by the ladye "Mercie"[71]: another entry shewing that the lands of the heirs of Richard Barbon were in Juggler Street, near the Lady Hall.[72] A somewhat similar vague allusion to a gift emanating from the Lady Hall occurs in 1555,[73] in an entry respecting "cer-"tain money which was in the custody of the mayor "and the bailiffs at their appointing for the new "adorning of the church by the Lady All."[74] It had been used as the common hall of the town before 1515 by the corporation, so that the terms "common hall" and "Lady Hall" had colloquially become synonymous; but the early corporation books being missing we have only later and indirect evidence of the fact.

In 1515 Rector Crosse has been seen to have bequeathed to the town a new common hall, which, according to the old custom, he designated "y$^{e}$ new "[so] called Our Ladye House to keep their courts "in." This was the second town hall, and in 1555 we read of the assembly duly meeting to transact public business in the "common hall, called [as] of

71 This entry appears in the tattered original vol. i of the *Records*, and has been faithfully retranscribed in the copy of that volume made in 1749; in which latter some modern penciller has chosen to erase "Mercie" and substitute "Mercer."

72 *Porte Mote*, i, 4, 5.

73 *Ibid*, i, 10.

74 The "Lady All" of the original volume has been transcribed in the copied volume as "Lady Hall." Again the penciller has erased the words, and substituted "Lady Ale," a senseless term which not even the vague character of the original writing can justify.

"old time, Lady Hall";[75] the new hall retaining the popular designation of the old one. In 1567 the discarded and vacated hall is found in the possession of one of the burgesses:—

> We find Richard Waddington by virtue of divers conveyances lawfully possessed of all that one house in Juggler Street sometime called *Lady Mercer's* hall, yeilding yearly therefor to the Queens Majesty her heirs and successors for ever seven pence. The s^d^ R. Waddington is also lawfully possessed in one sandland shooting into Esthm̄ dale upon the east part, belonging to the said house.[76]

In this passage the ever popular, favourite, and beautiful appellation of the Virgin is found transformed into the prosaic and common-place "Lady "Mercer." This corrupt term, however, occurs nowhere else in the town's books, and is to be set down to lack of knowledge on the part of the scribe. There was, indeed, an old local family of the name of Mercer, but they were not of high social status, and no Lady Mercer ever appears in local history.[77]

The second town hall was also in the busy official thoroughfare, Juggler Street. Differing from the first—the religious hospice—it was erected on pillars, with an arcade or "sellar," as Rector Crosse called it, beneath; and, as already said, was known by the designation, "Our Lady "Hall";—in 1555 the assembly meeting "in the "common hall, called [as] of old time Lady Hall."[78] Some few years earlier (about 1541) the corporation were renting the priest's arcade or cellar, and using it as a storeroom; allusion occurring to "the "keeper of the common hall of this town, that is

75 *Porte Mote*, i, 14.
76 *Ibid*, i, 386.
77 In 1340, Robert le Mercer uses the term, "palacium," in reference to his house, one half of which he was alloting to his daughter and her husband: but it was merely an ordinary dwelling, and was in Whiteacre Street, not in Juggler Street.—*Moore Deeds*, 119.
78 *Porte Mote*, i, 14.

"to wit the common warehouse."[79] In 1548 we have seen this ground floor used as "the custom house." In 1563 is mention of "the higher hall "called the common hall of this town;"[80] and in 1574 of "the covered market place" in the arcade.[81] In 1579, once more, we have the corporation being convened "to meet on Sunday in the common hall "called Our Lady Hall."[82]

This second town hall endured till about 1673, when Blome saw another new "famous town house "on pillars" being erected: the dismantled hall being subsequently let as dwelling houses;[83] Peter Atherton in 1679 paying the corporation £5 per annum "for two houses in Juggler Street, "formerly y^e comon hall."[84]

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Reverting to the chapel; St. Mary's is now found involved in a period of degradation. "Loca sacra "sunt cimitariæ et capellæ et ecclesiæ; et, licet "ædificia diruantur, adhuc locus sacra sacer "manet"[85]:—thus had declared the legal commentator, De Bracton, of the thirteenth century; but St. Mary's did not meet with this kindly regard. It had been closed since about 1550; and though in 1558 and again in 1565 great efforts were made to increase the endowment of the grammar school, yet the corporation refrained from devoting to so appropriate and worthy an object their desolate old chapel house. And, not only so, but with little reverence for the past, little veneration for an edifice consecrated to religious uses and hallowed by the burial of the dead, they chose to utilise it as

79 *Porte Mote*, i, 39.
80 *Ibid*, i, 192.
81 *Ibid*, ii, 118.
82 *Ibid*, ii, 190.
83 *Ibid*. iv, 517.
84 This analysis, if correct, gives five as the number of the successive town halls of Liverpool, instead of four, as ordinarily stated: one only, instead of two, in Juggler Street hitherto being taken into account.
85 *De Legibus et Consuetudines Angliæ*, i, 60.

the common warehouse; though, it may be, that, with memory of the disasters of the Reformation, they thus desecrated it openly and ostentatiously. In 1571 they are found setting their civic house in order and prohibiting for the future dances, weddings, and similar convivial junketings therein:[86] and in the same year, in pursuance of this policy, they ejected their stores from the priest's arcade beneath the common hall, and transferred it without cost to their very excellent stone chapel conveniently situated on the quay. Thus St. Mary's became the common warehouse of the town.

Next year, 1572, the assembly directed that the late mayor, "Mr. Bavand, shall bring in or cause "to be brought in the keys of the old chapel, now "the town's new warehouse"[87] Here were kept the scale and beam of the corporation, and other paraphernalia of the kind, inventories of which occasionally appear in the town books: here were warehoused goods for factors and farmers; here was stored the mayor's toll corn from the market, and here it was "sold in sight of the bailiff after "the old fashion." The chapel-warehouse was in charge of a keeper (as in 1541): this official at the time of the transfer being G. Rainforth, who on leaving in 1580, was to receive from his successor, W. Gelbrand, 40*s*. apparently as goodwill. In 1574 one, Potter, having had his goods lying there for some time, was charged "for a porcon of the towne "store howse quondam the chappell of the keyth, "for the time and space of fyftyn weeks x$^{s.}$"[88] In a few years, however, the chapel seems to have

86 In 1555 the seneschals of the hall accounted for 3*s*. 4*d*., received for marriages in the same during the year. In 1558 the assembly decreed that "the stewards of the hall shall gather and take of every wedding "and dinner of marriage to be made within this hall xvj$^{d.}$: the same to "safely kept until such time they be summoned to bring in the same so "to be coffered."

87 *Porte Mote*, ii, 32.

88 *Ibid*, ii, 89.

been found too small for the needs of the town and port, and the corporation accordingly removed their scale and beam elsewhere, viz., to "y^e greate barn "near y^e Tower." Still, even then, they endeavoured neither to restore the chapel to something of its former odour of sanctity nor to allot it to the use of the still struggling grammar school; but let it at a rental, once more as a warehouse for general storage of goods. In 1579, Port mote having decided to "repair and maintain that part of the wall "under the little old stone chapel, being ruinous "and decayed,"[89] formally resolved that "the rents "of the stonne chapell bewest the churche of this "towne shall be paide to the maior for the time "beinge, ever hereafter, to the towne's use."[90] And in 1581 they again carefully declared that "the rents "of the chappell of the key shall be paide to the "maior to the use of the town as heretofore." In 1582 some suggestion seems to have been made for the place being, possibly, granted to the grammar school; but the economic-minded assembly determinedly resolved that "the little stone chapel in the "churchyard shall remain to the town, and the "mayor at his pleasure shall receive the key of the "same for the town's use and benefit."[91] The place however does not seem to have let very readily; and in 1583 the corporation, not caring to lie out of their money, again publicly proclaimed at Porte mote that "the stone chapel belonging to

[89] *Porte Mote*, ii, 190.

[90] In 1570 Robert Corbett (mayor in the year following) "oweth xx*s*. by "the year for the little stone house by west the chapel steeple of this "town demised and to him let in farm Dec. 15, 1570" [*Porte Mote*, i, 160] This building does not appear to have been the chapel. It was probably "the stone house in the church yard," for his care of which Mr. Bentley, incumbent of St. Nicholas', was paid £4 by the corporation in 1598 [*Ibid*, ii, 519]: and seems to have been the same which, nearly a century later, was rented by Edward Tarlton, who, in the town rental for 1689, is debited for "the chappell style house 8*s*.: the fish house [adjoining] 5*s*.: "and ye little house in the chappell yard 2*s*. [*Ibid*, iv, 517].

[91] *Porte Mote*, ii, 251.

"this town shall be let to the best profit of the "town";[92] and when it did let there appears to "have been some difficulty in securing the rent, as in 1586 it is curtly declared that "whosoever hath "or shall have the stone chapel in the churchyard "shall pay and yield the accustomed rent for the "same."[93] So that on the whole the experience of the corporation with their investment of 20*s*. in the tenement was not quite satisfactory; and it is not surprising that in one way or other they got rid of it, and that we hear no more of their sacerdotal warehouse.

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Our final glimpse of the Chapel del Key discovers it, at last, as the home of the grammar school. This, it will be remembered, had been founded by Rector Crosse, in 1515, by the bequest of certain lands:—

> To y^e^ fyndinge of a preste to say masse afore y^e^ ymage of Seynt Kateryne within the chappell of Lyvrpull: [stipulating] y^t^ y^e^ maior and my brother Richard Crosse or his heirs after him shall order and put in a prste suche as they shall thynke best convenient: the whiche prst shall keepe g'mer scole, and take his avauntage from all y^e^ children except those whose names be Crosse and poore chyldren y^t^ have no socour.[94]

The name of the first priest installed does not appear, and, in 1533, the King's rental shows Thos. Hickmough, a burgess, holding the chantry in trust. In 1534 Humphrey Crosse was priest of St. Katherine's, and, consequently, teacher of the grammar school. The founder had made no stipulation either that the priest should say mass at the chantry daily, or that the school should be in Liverpool; and it appears as though Crosse, who was one of the priests attached to the mother church

92 *Porte Mote*, ii, 273.
93 *Ibid*, ii, 314.
94 *Not. Cestr.*, II, ii, 191.

at Walton, taught his school there, as being the most generally beneficial spot. At all events, at or about this date, there was established near Walton Church a grammar school, the origin of which is unknown:[95] and it is certain it was not founded or endowed by the Duchy, since no entry relating to it appears in the Duchy accounts. On this hypothesis we may understand how, when, in 1548, Sir Walter Mildmay made his visitation, already mentioned, he had come to enter in his report that the school had been kept by Humphrey Crosse *at Walton* out of the funds derived from the chantry of St. Katherine, Liverpool. His report and recommendation are as follow:—

A Grammar School hath been heretofore continually kept in the parish of Walton with the revenues of St. Katherine founded in the s^d^ chapel of Liverpool, and the schoolmaster had for his wages £5 13*s*. 3¾*d*. yearly of the revenues of the s^d^ chantry: Which school is very necessary to continue as heretofore to all time used; and that Humfrey Crosse, schoolmaster there, shall be and remain in the same room and shall have for his stipend and wages yearly £5 13*s*. 3¾*d*.[96]

When this recommendaton had been made the chantry had lately been dissolved and the school left without revenue; but apparently Crosse was continuing the school at Walton church, and may have done so till his death in 1554 or 1555. In this latter year we have seen the corporation setting up a school in Liverpool on their own account, and raising locally the salary of Nicholas Smyth, who was both "clerk of our chapel and teacher of their "children." Further, when next we hear of the grammar school of Crosse's foundation, it is again said to be "of Walton," not, of Liverpool. It was not till 1565, seventeen years after Mildmay's re-

95 "The papers of this ancient school being destroyed in the rebellion, "the foundation is unknown."—*20th Report Parliamentary Commissioners.*

96 *Porte Mote*, i, 48.

commendations. that Queen Elizabeth gave effect to them, and to the Act of 1547 for the endowment of grammar schools, by granting letters patent of 30th Oct. of that year for the salary of the incumbent £4 17*s.* 5*d.* and the schoolmaster £5 13*s.* 3¾*d.* per annum ; and these payments are found entered in the Duchy accounts as follow :—[97]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| The stipend of a clerk to serve in the chapel at Lytherpoole ... ... ... ... | £4 | 17 | 5 |
| The fee of a clerk and Schoole Mr of Walton | 5 | 13 | 4 |

The grants were payable to the corporation of Liverpool, who were to appoint "a discreet and "learned man to be schoolmaster in the grammar "school." If, therefore, the school had hitherto been at Walton, it was now re-established at St. Nicholas', Liverpool.

The corporation did not rest idly content with this benefaction. In a few days they doubled the sum available for the salary by a levy on the burgesses. First, they resolved—

> We agree that it be needful to have a learned man to be our schoolmaster for the preferment of the youth of this town and that Master Maiore shall call the town together within ten days and take order for his wages over and above that the Queen's Majesty doth allow us.[98]

John Crosse was mayor, and within the stipulated time the meeting was convened, and, in due course, the following entry made in the books :—

> The augmentation aid of the Queen's gift for schoolmaster. This is a copy of the book made of the benevolent gift and grant of the comburgesses of this the Queen's Majesty's borough corporate and port town of Liverpool for the supplying and supportation of a competent wages for a schoolmaster, being a learned man; rated, cessed and laid by the auditors this year, bound by the whole Assembly, 18 Sept anno 1565.[99]

The Mayor headed the list with a guarantee of 4*s.*,

97 Birch MSS. ; Gregson's *Portfolio*, 31.
98 *Porte Mote*, i 250.
99 *Ibid*, i, 291.

Mr. Corbett and Alderman Sekerston promised 3*s.* 4*d.* each, and the whole of the burgesses tailed away from these large figures in a long list of contributions dwindling down to 4*d.* each: the total sum guaranteed being £5 13*s.* 6*d.* On this handsome combined basis they began by sending to London a deputation which succeeded in securing the coveted "learned man"—and a B.A. to boot—and him they engaged at double the salary Humphrey Crosse used to receive:—

> John Ore bachelor of arts being hired in London by Ralph Sekerston and others to be Schoolmaster, he appeared before the Assembly in the common hall and was admitted to enter and teach, upon the proof and good liking: and to have for the year sick or whole ten pounds to be paid quarterly.[100]

In 1571 John Ore had gone, and Peile, the incumbent, took his place; but, on being offered half of the corn toll at the market towards his salary, he refused to accept it, collected his dues by a house-to-house visitation, and seems to have soon left. In 1582 money was again somewhat scarce; and on John Royle being appointed schoolmaster, he was required to act also as "clerk and ringer of the curfew," at the reduced stipendium of £7 14*s.* 8*d.* This gentleman, or his successor, may not have quite come up to the Corporation's expectations of the greatly desired "learned man"; and in 1599 they wailed, as in despair, "Sir Thomas Wainwright (the incumbent) "shall kepe schoole here untill God sende us some "sufficient learned man and noe longer."

But in the meantime we learn nothing of the school itself, nor even where it was located (unless indeed it were at Walton.) We know that the old chapel del Key was used as a warehouse from 1572 to 1586, and certainly John Ore, B.A. and

100 *Porte Mote*, i, 298,

John Royle never kept school in it. Several incidental allusions to the school appear in the town books, but none of them show that it was held in the chapel del Key, and it is not even possible to guess that it was held in a building near St. Nicholas' Church, till 1611.[101] It is in fact solely from the chance statement of a stranger, the antiquary Blome of 1673, that we know St. Mary's was ever used as the home of the grammar school. Says he—"Here is now erecting a famous town house, "on pillars and arches of hewn stone [the third "town hall]: here also is a great piece of antiquity, "formerly a chapel, now a free school, at the west "end whereof next the river stood the statue of "St. Nicholas, long since defaced and gone, to "whom mariners offered when they went to sea." This is the one solitary item of evidence we possess that the ancient fane del Key terminated the vicissitudes of its career of four centuries in the honourable guise of a school for "poore chyldren "yt have no socour."

It is reputed to have been taken down in 1710; but an order is found in the Parish Vestry Book for 1745 directing that "the School adjoining St. "Nicholas' Church in which John Walters teaches, "being ruinous and a great nuisance, be taken "down."

101 Dispute between John Rose and the corporation, regarding old chantry lands and "a wall of the cemetery of the Chapel of St. Nicholas "on the east part of the free school."—*Porte Mote*, ii, 743.

# EARLY RECORDED MAYORS OF LIVERPOOL.

AN ORIGINAL LIST WITH DOCUMENTARY AUTHORITIES.

*By John Elton.*

*Supplementary to a Paper on "St. Mary del Key, Liverpool," read 13th March, 1902.*

IN pre-mayoral times the direction of local affairs in all manors was, of course, entrusted to the bailiffs of the manorial lords; and, subsequently, it was the principal, or *major*, bailiff who was appointed mayor. Henry II is believed to have first adopted the Norman term, "Maior," with the appointment of the first mayor of London, in 1189.

At Liverpool, before the date of any known mayor, writs are found addressed to the bailiffs. It is said that mayors replaced bailiffs or port-reeves when municipal rights were granted to a town; but this was not the case at Liverpool, where, over a century after the charter had been granted, writs were still addressed to the bailiffs.

Chester possesses a list of mayors dating back a century before the Liverpool list, namely to 1257. But the early part of the Chester list, Ormerod states, is mostly taken from "several varying and "contradictory accounts" by compilers who have left no references to any records. "In some few "instances," he says, "names have been introduced "from original deeds in years where all the lists

"were found to be incorrect;" still "much remains "to be effected in this early part of the series that "could only be accomplished by the discovery of "original documents which have most probably "ceased to exist."[1] This is an invalidation of the Chester list that should render us chary of accepting for Liverpool any statement that is not authenticated by actual documents.

The list now compiled is so authenticated; and on comparison with two existing lists already published, is found, for the early period under notice, to especially invalidate that which might have been thought the more accurate. The early series may here be considered to extend from 1351, when William Fil Adam was first elected, to 1383, when he died. The Liverpool historian, T. Baines, quoting no authorities, covers this term of 32 years with but nine entries;[2] and, according to the deeds, only three of these (now marked *) are correct:—

| | |
|---|---|
| 30 Edwd III. . . . | Richard de Aynesargh. |
| 40 " . . | Richard de Aynesargh.* |
| 48 " . . . | Thomas del More. |
| 49 " . . . | Thomas del More. |
| 51 " . . . | Richard de Aynesargh.* |
| 1 Richard II. . . . | William the Son of Adam. |
| 4 " . . . | Richard de Aynesargh. |
| 5 " . . . | Thomas del More. |
| 7 " . . . | Thomas del More.* |

For the succeeding 58 years Baines gives the names of mayors for 32; and of these, according to the deeds, 12 certainly are incorrect.

The other list is that compiled many years ago by Kuerden, and printed by the county historian, E. Baines, from the Kuerden MSS. in Chetham Library, Manchester.[3] It gives us a mayor of

[1] *Hist. Cheshire*, 1882, i, 206. I am kindly informed that Canon Morris, in his "Plantagenet Chester," has largely corrected this list; and that Mr. W. F. Irvine, in a paper now in the press, has done on a limited scale for Chester what the present paper does for Liverpool.

[2] T. Baines. *History of Liverpool*, 1852, 193.

[3] Baines' *Lancashire*, 1893, v, 166.

Liverpool in 1169, twenty years before London obtained the mayoral dignity. No authorities are quoted, and in fact this and four succeeding entries seem to be without justification :—

| | |
|---|---|
| 1169[1] . . . | Adam de Birkhead. |
| 1242 . . . | William de Bold. |
| 1257 . . . | Henry de Lee. |
| 6 Edw. . . | Thomas Harbur. |
| 1329 . . . | William fil Adam. |

The remainder of this early portion of the list, however, if incomplete, is tolerably accurate, the date given in each case being, apparently, that of the attestation of a document :—

| | |
|---|---|
| 1355 . . . | William fil Adam. |
| 1357 . . . | William fil Adam. |
| 1358 . . | Richard de Aynesargh. |
| 1363 . . . | William fil Adam. |
| 1368 . . . | William fil Adam. |
| 1372 . . . | Richard de Aynesargh. |
| 1373 . . . | John de Hoult [John de Hull.] |
| 1374 . . . | R. Aynswall [Richard de Aynesargh.] |
| 1375 . . . | R. Aynswall [Richard de Aynesargh.] |
| 1379 . . . | William fil Adam. |

In compiling a new list I have thought it desirable to consider the present custom of electing the mayor on October 18th, as having prevailed from the commencement of the elections. This certainly was the custom as far back as the records go. The mayor in 1556, for example, was "elected on St. "Luke's Day to serve till St. Luke's Day next," as very likely were all his predecessors.

With but few exceptions, the whole of the list has been compiled from official mayoral attestations of deeds. As a rule, the signature of the mayor, as a witness, will be found first; those of the bailiffs often following next. But the exceptions are many. The mayor's name sometimes is found not placed first: at other times,

[1] Ben's date "15 R2", not 15 H2" (Notes and Queries CLXVII, 225) is without a
, 263).

whether placed first or last, "tunc maior" is not appended. Wm. Fil Adam was elected October, 1351, and attested a deed as mayor in April, 1352:[4] yet in March, 1352, the first name on a deed is but "William fil. Adam."[5] William Grenolph was elected in October, 1352, and attested a deed as mayor on the Saturday before St. Barnabas' (June) 1353;[6] but on the Friday after the same St. Barnabas' he is called merely "William de Grenolph."[7]

The earliest local mayors mentioned in the various deeds examined on behalf of this list, are "Richard le mair de hale," who so attests a deed in 1317;[8] and "Richard del Hogh, tunc maior "villa de fflynt," who with his two bailiffs attests a deed in 1346.[9] The first apparent record of a mayor of Liverpool occurs in an attestation by William Fil Adam, 4 April, 1352:—[10]

Sciant quod ego Johannes filius Ade fil Symonis de Lyverpull dedi Rogeri de Ditton et heredibus eius quartam partem unius burgagii cum pertinentijs in Lyverpull in le Dalestrete juxta tenementum Magariæ fil Alani fil Joh'is et extendum versus le Dalefeld per servic inde debita et consueta. Et ego vero predict Johannes contra omnes homines warrantiz et defend imperpetuum.

Hijs testibus Willimo fil Ade *tunc maiore de Lyverpull*, Roberto filio Mathei tunc altero balliorum ibidem, Alex. le Comyn, Rico de Aynesargh, Willimo de Grenolf, Adam fil Mathei et alijs.

Dat apud Lyverpull quarto die Aprilis an. reg. reg. Edwardi t'tii a conquestu vicesimo sexto.

There seems little doubt that in this deed we may possess the name and date of the first actual mayor of the town. Closest scrutiny of all available documents yields no earlier indication of a mayor. Writs formerly addressed to bailiffs now soon cease, and in future years are addressed to "the mayor and commonalty." And—

4 *Add. MSS.*, 32105, 219.
5 *Moore Deeds*, 157.
6 *Ibid*, 159.
7 *Ibid*, 160.
8 *Ibid*, 524.
9 *Crosse Deeds*, 53.
10 *Add. MSS.*, 32105, 219.

more conclusive still—this deed is evidence that the mayoralty was as yet something new: the high and unique status of the mayor was scarcely recognised; he was still one of the two bailiffs and still was regarded in this aspect; the deed consequently being signed not only by the mayor but by "the "other bailiff." No other such instance occurs; for the mayor was soon relieved of his duties as bailiff, and a second bailiff appointed; deeds in future being found signed severally by the mayor and the two bailiffs.

William Fil Adam, first on my list, held office, between 1351 and 1378, eleven times; Richard de Aynesargh, between 1364 and 1381, nine times; Thomas del More, between 1382 and 1406, sixteen times; and Robert de [West] Derby, between 1400 and 1419, nine times: no such repeated periods of office occurring later. It is clear from these frequent re-elections who, late in the fourteenth and early in the fifteenth century, were the strong guiding spirits of the little municipality. William Fil Adam—a memoir of whom I hope to offer to the Society next Session—was foremost in all public affairs of his day; his good and faithful services being recognised by Henry Duke of Lancaster with a grant of an annual rental. He died in 1383. Richard de Aynesargh, his coadjutor for many years, the next prominent holder of office, died shortly before him. Thomas del More, the successor of Aynesargh, had long been associated with both of them in public and private affairs. Sir Edward Moore in the Rental of 1657 tells his son that Thomas del More had been mayor twelve times, "as you may see by your "deeds"; [11] but these now appear to make his total years of mayoralty sixteen.

The list now compiled is as follows:—

[11] *Ch. Soc. Pubs.*, xii, 87.

| Mayor. | Elected 18 Oct. | Date of Deed. |
|---|---|---|
| **William Fil Adam** .. .. | 1351 .. | 4 April, 26 E III .. .. |
| **William Grenolf** .. .. | 1352 .. | S. Barnabas', 27 E. III .. |
| **John Fil Wm. del More** .. | 1353 .. | Nat. Dom., 27 E. III .. |
| **William Fil Adam** .. .. | 1354 .. | Pentecost, 29 E. III .. |
| ——— | 1355 | ——— |
| **William Fil Adam** .. .. | 1356 .. | S. Andrew, 30 E. III .. |
| **William Fil Adam** .. .. | 1357 .. | Nichi. Epi, 31 E. III .. |
| " " .. .. | " .. | John Bap., 32 E. III .. |
| **William Fil Adam** .. .. | 1358 .. | Simon & Jude, 32 E. III |
| ——— | 1359 | ——— |
| **William Fil Adam** .. .. | 1360 .. | Assumption, 35 E. III .. |
| " " .. .. | " .. | Nat. Bte. Marie, 35 E. III |
| **William Fil Adam** .. .. | 1361 .. | Sabti post Sci Luce Eva. 35 E. III |
| **William Fil Adam** .. .. | 1362 .. | S. Cedde, 37 E. III .. |
| ——— | 1363 | ——— |
| **Richard de Aynesargh** .. | 1364 . | 6 May, 39 E. III .. .. |
| **Richard de Aynesargh** .. | 1365 .. | S. Gregory, 40 E. III .. |
| " " .. | " .. | Bte. Marie Virg., 40 E. III |
| ——— | 1366 | ——— |
| **William Fil Adam** .. .. | 1367 .. | S. Cedde, 42 E. III .. |
| *John Fil Almerice* .. .. | .. | *Trs. S. Thos., 42 E. III* .. |
| **William Fil Adam** .. .. | 1368 .. | Martinmas, 42 E. III .. |
| " " .. .. | " .. | Mary Mag., 43 E. III .. |
| ——— | 1369-70 | ——— |
| **Richard de Aynesargh** .. | 1371 .. | Pentecost, 46 E. III .. |
| **John de Hull** .. .. .. | 1372 .. | Matt., Ap., 47 E. III .. |
| " " .. .. .. | " .. | Corp. Chr., 47 E. III .. |
| **John de Hull** .. .. .. | 1373 .. | John, Ap., 47 E. III .. |
| **Richard de Aynesargh** .. | 1374 .. | Nich., Arch., 48 E. III .. |
| " " .. | " .. | Purification V. M., 49 E. III |
| " " .. | " .. | S. Cedde, 49 E. III .. |
| " " .. | " .. | Nat. V. M., 49 E. III .. |
| **Richard de Aynesargh** .. | 1375 .. | S. Martin, 50 E. III .. |
| **Richard de Aynesargh** .. | 1376 .. | Trs. S. Thos., 1 R. II .. |
| **Richard de Aynesargh** .. | 1377 .. | S. Katherine, 1 R. II .. |
| **William Fil Adam** .. .. | 1378 .. | S. Agatha, 2 R. II .. |
| " " .. .. | " .. | Philip & James, 2 R. II |
| " " .. .. | " .. | S. Barnabas, 2 R. II .. |
| ——— | 1379 | ——— |
| **Richard de Aynesargh** .. | 1380 .. | Mary Mag., 5 R. II .. |
| " " .. | " .. | Matt., Ap., 5 R. II .. |
| **Richard de Aynesargh** .. | 1381 .. | Assumption, 6 R. II .. |
| **Thomas del More** .. .. | 1382 .. | Lucy Virg., 6 R. II .. |
| " " .. .. | " .. | John Bapt., 7 R. II .. |
| " " .. .. | " .. | S. Wilfrid, 7 R. II .. |

| A.D. | Reference. | Notes. |
|---|---|---|
| pril, 1352 | Add. MSS., 32105/219 | *26 E. III ends 20 Jan., 1353.* |
| e, 1353 | Moore Deeds, 159 | |
| ristmas, 1353 | Add. MSS., 32105/318 | [St. Mary's, 19 May, 1355. |
| e, 1355 | " " 32105/215 | Endowment of St. Nicholas' & |
| v., 1356 | Moore Deeds, 170 | |
| c. 1357 | Add. MSS., 32105/206 | |
| e, 1358 | Moore Deeds, 176 | |
| Oct., 1358 | Add. MSS., 32105/204 | |
| | | [Feb.-Sept., 1361. |
| g., 1361 | Moore Deeds, 191 | S. Nicholas' consecrated. |
| pt., 1361 | " " 183 | |
| turday after 8 Oct., 1361. | " " 192 | |
| rch, 1363 | Add. MSS., 32105/259 | |
| May, 1365 | Close Rolls, 40 E. III, m. 22 | Writ re prisage of wines. |
| rch, 1366 | Add. MSS, 32105/205/235 | |
| ly, Sept., 1366 | " " 32105/328 | |
| rch, 1368 | Add. MSS., 32105/298 | |
| *ly, 1368* | *Moore Deeds, 209* | *Apparently locum tenens.* |
| v., 1368 | Add. MSS., 32105/262 | |
| ly, 1369 | Moore Deeds, 216 | |
| ne, 1372 | Add. MSS., 32105/234 | |
| b., 1373 | Moore Deeds, 226 | |
| ne, 1373 | Add. MSS., 32105/207 | |
| c., 1373 | " " 32105/179 | |
| c., 1374 | " " 32105/174 | |
| b., 1375 | " " 32105/311 | |
| rch, 1375 | Moore Deeds, 236 | |
| pt., 1375 | " " 628 | |
| ly, 1376 | " " 553 | |
| ly, 1377 | Crosse Deeds, 70 | *R. II from 21 June, 1377.* |
| ov., 1377 | Moore Deeds, 242 | |
| b., 1379 | " " 243 | |
| ay, 1379 | " " 246 | |
| June, 1379 | " " 245 | |
| ly, 1381 | Croxteth Deeds, 2 | Okill MSS., 14/324 |
| pt., 1381 | " " 20 | |
| ug., 1382 | Moore Deeds, 251 | |
| ec., 1382 | " " 255 | |
| 4 June, 1383 | " " 256 | |
| 2 Oct., 1383 | " " 258 | |

| Mayor. | Elected 18 Oct. | Date of Deed. |
|---|---|---|
| **Thomas del More** | 1383 | Mart. post. S. Luke Ev millo. cccmo. lxxxmo. t't |
| " " | " | S. Cedde, 7 R. II |
| **Thomas del More** | 1384 | Pentecost, 8 R. II |
| " " | " | Peter & Paul, 9 R II |
| **Thomas del More** | 1385 | John Bapt., 10 R. II |
| " " | " | — 10 R II |
| *John de Hull* | | *S. Margaret, 10 R II* |
| **Thomas del More** | 1386 | Trans. S. Thos., 11 R. II |
| " " | " | Nat. V. M., 11 R. II |
| **Thomas del More** | 1387 | Nat. Dom., 11 R. II |
| " " | " | Mich., Arch., 12 R. II |
| ——— | 1388 | ——— |
| **Thomas del More** | 1389 | S. Hillary, 13 R. II |
| " " | " | Inv. S. Crucis, 13 R. II |
| ——— | 1390 | ——— |
| **Thomas del More** | 1391 | Purification V. M., 15 R. II |
| ——— | 1392-4 | ——— |
| **Thomas del More** | 1395 | Mary Mag., 20 R. II |
| " " | " | S. Lawrence, 20 R. II |
| **Thomas del More** | 1396 | S. Martin, 21 R. II |
| **Thomas del More** | 1397 | Simon & Jude, 21 R. II |
| ——— | 1398 | ——— |
| **Thomas del More** | 1399 | Lent, 1 H. IV |
| **Robert de Derby** | 1400 | Con. S. Paul, 2 H. IV |
| **Robert de Derby** | 1401 | Martin in hieme, 3 H. IV |
| " " | " | Purification V. M., 3 H. IV |
| **Thomas del More** | 1402 | Pentecost, 4 H. IV |
| " " | " | Trans. S Thos , 4 H. IV |
| **Thomas del More** | 1403 | Nat. John Bapt , 5 H. IV |
| " " | " | S. Barnabas, 5 H. IV |
| " " | " | S. Michael, 5 H. IV |
| ——— | 1404 | ——— |
| **Thomas del More** | 1405 | S. Thos., Ap , 7 H. IV |
| " " | " | 2nd Sep. Quad , 7 H IV |
| " " | " | 3rd Sep. Quad , 7 H. IV |
| **Thomas del More** | 1406 | 14 April, 8 H. IV |
| " " | " | Exalt. S Crucis, 8 H. IV |
| " " | " | Matt., Ap., 8 H. IV |
| ——— | 1407 | ——— |
| **Robert de Derby** | 1408 | Trans. S. Thos., 10 H. IV |
| **Richard Crosse** | 1409 | Nich., Epi., 11 H. IV |
| " " | " | Pasche, 11 H. IV |
| " " | " | Thos Cant., 11 H. IV |
| **John de Osbaldeston** | 1410 | S. Hillary, 12 H. IV |
| " " | " | Nat. John Bapt., 12 H. IV |
| " " | " | Trans. S. Thos., 12 H. IV |

| A.D. | Reference. | Notes. |
|---|---|---|
| T sday after . Luke's, 1383 | Crosse Deeds, 77 | Will of Wm. Fil Adam. |
| M rch, 1384 | Moore Deeds, 259 | |
| J e, 1385 | " " 260 | |
| 2 une, 1385 | Add. MSS., 32105/414 | |
| 2 une or 29 Aug., 1386 | Moore Deeds, 261 | |
| — 1385-6 | Add. MSS., 32105/427 | |
| *J , 1386* | *Add. MSS., 32105/411* | *Apparently locum tenens.* |
| J y, 1387 | Moore Deeds, 262 | |
| S t., 1387 | " " 263 | |
| C istmas, 1387 | " " 264 | |
| S t., 1388 | " " 267 | |
| — — | — — | |
| J ., 1390 | Add. MSS., 32105/412 | Harl. MSS., 2042/271. |
| M y, 1390 | " " 32105/388 | Crosse Deeds, 83. |
| — — | — — | |
| F ., 1392 | Add. MSS., 32105/426 | |
| — — | — — | |
| J y, 1396 | Croxteth Deeds, 15 | |
| A g., 1396 | Moore Deeds, 275 | |
| J y, 1397 | Croxteth Deeds, 3 | |
| 2 Oct., 1397 | Moore Deeds, 276 | |
| — | — | *Hy. IV from 30 Sept., 1399.* |
| M rch, 1400 | Okill MSS., 14/326 | |
| J ., 1401 | Moore Deeds, 277 | |
| M v , 1401 | Croxteth Deeds, 16 | |
| F b., 1402 | Add. MSS., 32105/507 | Crosse Deeds, 92. |
| J e, 1403 | " " 32105/473 | Harl. MSS., 2042/370b. |
| J y, 1403 | " " 32105/447 | |
| J e, 1404 | " " 32105/450 | Crosse Deeds, 98. |
| J e, 1404 | " " 32105/530 | " " 97. |
| S pt., 1404 | Croxteth Deeds, 18 | |
| — — | — | |
| D c., 1405 | Harl. MSS., 2042/370b. | Okill MSS., 14/22. |
| M rch, 1406 | Add. MSS., 32105/461 | Crosse Deeds, 102. |
| M rch, 1406 | " " 32105/457 | " " 101. |
| April, 1407 | " " 32105/443 | " " 103. |
| M y, 1407 | " " 32105/516 | |
| S pt., 1407 | " " 32105/528 | |
| — — | — — | |
| J ly, 1409 | Add. MSS., 32105/531 | Crosse Deeds, 110. |
| D ec., 1409 | Croxteth Deeds, 17 | |
| M ay, 1410 | Add. MSS., 32105/523 | |
| J ly, 1410 | " " 32105/469 | |
| J n., 1411 | " " 32105/460 | Crosse Deeds, 117. |
| J ne, 1411 | " " 32105/527 | |
| J ly, 1411 | " " 32105/526 | |

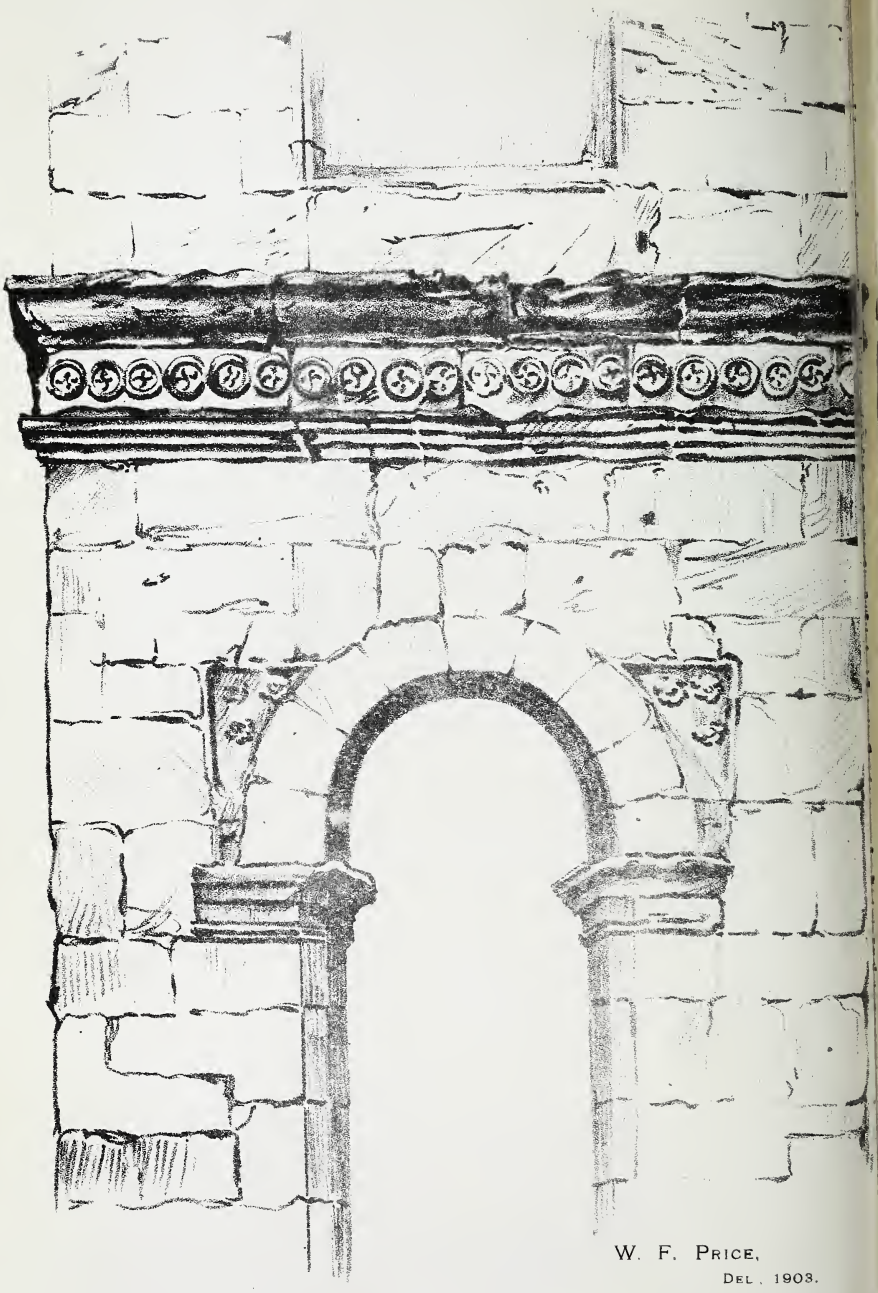
| Mayor. | Elected 18 Oct. | Date of Deed. |
|---|---|---|
| **Robert de Derby** | 1411 | Omn. Sanct., 13 H. IV |
| " " | " | Con. S. Paul, 13 H. IV |
| " " | " | S. Ambrose, 13 H. IV |
| **Robert de Derby** | 1412 | S. Gregory, 14 H. IV |
| " " | " | 3rd Sep. Quad., 14 H. IV |
| **Robert de Derby** | 1413 | Mary Mag., 1 H. V |
| **Robert de Derby** | 1414 | 14 Feb., 2 H. V |
| ——— | 1415 | ——— |
| **Henry de Mossock** | 1416 | Thurs. after S. Luke's, 4 H. |
| " " | " | S. Andrew, 4 H. V |
| " " | " | S. Cecilia, 4 H. V |
| **Henry de Mossock** | 1417 | S. Bartholomew, 6 H. V. |
| **Robert de Derby** | 1418 | S. Martin, 7 H. V |
| **Robert de Derby** | 1419 | Philip & James, 8 H. V |
| **Robert de Caudrey** | 1420 | Hillary, 8 H. V |
| " " | " | Purification V. M., 8 H. V |
| " " | " | S. Martin, 9 H. V |
| " " | " | Mich., Arch., 9 H. V |
| **Robert de Caudrey** | 1421 | Pasche, 9 H. V |
| ——— | 1422 | ——— |
| **Robert del More** | 1423 | 18 May, 2 H. VI |
| ——— | 1424 | ——— |
| **Thurstan de Holcroft** | 1425 | Nat. Dom., 4 H. VI |
| " " | " | Purification V. M., 4 H. VI |
| " " | " | 4th Sep. Quad., 4 H. VI |
| " " | " | Ascen. Dom., 4 H. VI |
| ——— | 1426 | ——— |
| **John de Fazakerley** | 1427 | Nat. John Bapt., 6 H. VI |
| **Robert del More** | 1428 | 4 Nov., 7 H. VI |
| " " | " | S. Gregory, 7 H. VI |
| **Robert del More** | 1429 | Decoll. John Bapt., 8 H. VI |
| **Roger de Chernock** | 1430 | S. Gregory, 9 H. VI |
| **Hugh de Botehyll** | 1431 | 8 Oct., 11 H. VI |
| **Hugh de Botehyll** | 1432 | Annunc., 11 H. VI |
| " " | " | S. Ambrose, 11 H. VI |
| **Robert More** | 1433 | S. James, 12 H. VI |
| " " | " | 5 Sept., 13 H. VI. |
| ——— | 1434-6 | ——— |
| **Roger de Chernock** | 1437 | 10 Aug., 16 H. VI |
| " " | " | 20 Aug., 16 H. VI |
| ——— | 1438 | ——— |
| **James Harebron** | 1439 | S. Barnabas, 18 H. VI |
| ——— | 1440 | ——— |
| **Roger de Chernock** | 1441 | Omn. Sanct., 20 H. VI |

| A.D. | Reference. | Notes. |
|---|---|---|
| No, 1411 .. | Add. MSS. 32105/514 | Crosse Deeds, 118. |
| Ja 1412 .. | " " 32105/446 | Add. MSS., 32105/451. |
| Ap, 1412 .. | " " 32105/498 | Crosse Deeds, 120. |
| Mch, 1413 | " " 32105/487 | |
| Mch, 1413 | " " 32105/529 | Crosse Deeds, 123. |
| Ju 1414 .. | " " 32105/574 | *H. V from 21 March, 1413.* |
| Feb., 1415 | " " 32105/567 | |
| Thsday after Oct., 1416 | Croxteth Deeds, 5 | |
| No, 1416 .. | Moore Deeds, 292 | |
| No, 1416 .. | Croxteth Deeds, 6 | |
| Ma, 1418 .. | " " 8 | |
| Ju, 1419 .. | " " 9 | |
| M, 1420 .. | Harl. MSS., 2042/368/369 | |
| Ja, 1421 .. | Crosse Deeds, 129 | Okill MSS , 14/26. |
| Fe, 1421 .. | Add. MSS., 32105/566 | Harl. MSS., 2042/370. |
| Ju, 1421 .. | Croxteth Deeds, 19 | |
| Se., 1421 | Harl. MSS., 2042/370 | [have been Easter, 1421. |
| Easter, 1422 | Croxteth Deeds, 7 | But if after 21 Mar., this may |
| 18 May, 1424 | Crosse Deeds, 128 | Harl. MSS., 2042/368. |
| | | *H. VI from 1 Sept., 1422.* |
| Christmas, 1425 | Moore Deeds, 295 | |
| Fe, 1426 .. | " " 326 | |
| Mch, 1426 | Add. MSS., 32105/10 | Crosse Deeds, 130. |
| My, 1426 | Add. MSS., 32105/601/655 | |
| Jne, 1428 .. | Moore Deeds, 296 | |
| 4 Nov., 1428 | Croxteth Deeds, 21 | |
| Mch, 1429 | Add. MSS., 32105/629 | |
| Ap., 1430 .. | Harl. MSS., 2042/249b. | |
| Mch, 1431 | " " 2042/249 | |
| 8 Oct., 1432 . | Croxteth Deeds, 12 | |
| Mch, 1433 | " " 10 | |
| April, 1433 .. | " " 11 | |
| Jy, 1434 .. | Add. MSS., 32105/625 | Harl. MSS., 2042/369. |
| 5 Sept., 1434 | " " 32105/607 | Add. MSS., 32105/471/617. |
| 1 Aug., 1438 | Harl. MSS., 2042/250 | |
| 2 Aug., 1438 | " " 2042/249/249b. | |
| Jne, 1440 .. | Croxteth Deeds, 22 | |
| Nov., 1441 .. | Croxteth Deeds, 13 | |

The names occurring in later deeds, as far as I have noted them, may be appended :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| John More ... | 1444 | 4 Feb., 23 H. VI (1445), Croxteth Deeds, 23. |
| Wm. Gaythirde.. | 1447 | Pentecost, 26 H. VI (1448), Moore Deeds, 303. |
| John More ... | 1448 | 10 Jan., 27 H. VI (1449), Add. MSS., 32105/605. |
| Wm. Gaithyrd... | 1453 | July, 32 H. VI (1454), Moore Deeds, 306. |
| John Crosse ... | 1459 | Sept., 39 H. VI (1460), Croxteth Deeds, 14. |
| Jas. Harborne ... | 1460 | 20 June, 1 E. IV (1461), Add. MSS., 32105/213. |
| " " ... | " | 24 June, 1 E. IV (1461), *Ibid.*, 32105/694. |
| Gilbert Mercer... | 1461 | 4 Aug , 1462, Moore Deeds, 316. |
| Jas. Harborne ... | 1464 | 4 May, 5 E. IV (1465), Add. MSS., 32105/478. |
| Hugh Harborne.. | 1465 | 10 Aug., 6 E. IV (1466), *Ibid.*, 32105/695. |
| Edmund Crosse.. | 1469 | 20 Aug., 10 E. IV (1470), Okill MSS., 14/117. |
| Hugh Harborne.. | 1470 | 8 Nov., 11 E. IV (1471), Add. MSS., 32105/684. |
| Hugh Harborne.. | 1471 | 20 May, 12 E. IV (1472), Crosse Deeds, 149. |
| John Davenport. | 1473 | 22 Dec., 13 E. IV (1473), Add. MSS., 32105/729. |
| " " | " | 4 Jan., 13 E. IV (1474), Moore Deeds, 320. |
| John Crosse ... | 1476 | 24 Oct , 16 E. IV (1476), *Ibid.*, 321. |
| Richard Bold ... | 1479 | 20 Nov , 19 E. IV (1479), Add. MSS., 32105/706. |
| John Davenport.. | 1481 | Nov., 21 E. IV (1481), *Ibid.*, 32105, 707, 717.[12] |

[12] All the quotations from the Moore and Crosse deeds are taken from the late Mr. Morton's transcripts, in possession of this Society: those from Add. MSS. from transcripts by Mr. W. Farrer, F.S.A.: and those from Croxteth deeds from the Okill MSS., in possession of the Corporation of Liverpool.



W. F. Price,
Del. 1903.

Western Doorway
The Old Merchant Taylors' School
Great Crosby.

# NOTES ON THE MERCHANT TAYLORS' SCHOOLS AT GREAT CROSBY, LANCASHIRE.

*By Thomas Goffey.*

Read 10th April, 1902.

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THE Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist, in the City of London, is one of the oldest of the great City Companies. I have not been able to ascertain the date of its foundation, but one of its earliest records is dated 1267.

Its first charter was granted in March, 1326, by Edw. III.

It was originally a purely trade guild, but for a long period it has ceased to have that distinctive character.

My purpose is not, however, to give a history of the Company, but some account of its schools at Great Crosby.

The school for boys is now held in a handsome modern building, known popularly as the "Grammar School," but its real name is "The Merchant Taylors' School, founded at the charge of John Harrison." The girls' school is of very modern creation, as will be shown further on.

Since the present head master, the Rev. Canon Armour, D.D., Hon. Canon of Liverpool, has occupied that position, the school has emerged from a

state of obscurity, and become a celebrated seat of learning for the middle class on the north side of Liverpool.[1]

To Canon Armour I am indebted for the loan of the memorials of the Merchant Taylors' Company, from which most of the facts following are taken, besides other information, for which I am much indebted to him. I am also under obligation to Miss Bolton, head mistress, for information as to the girls' school. The master and wardens of the Company have kindly given me permission to make use of the information extracted from the memorials.

The founder of the school, as the name indicates, was one John Harrison. Little is known of him, except that he was a member of the Merchant Taylors Company, to the freedom of which he was admitted, by patrimony, on the 9th August, 1591. He was chosen warden at the election of master and wardens on 9th July, 1593, but does not seem to have filled the office of master, and his name soon disappears from the records as being present at the Courts. His occupation is not known, but from his being a member of this Company he is supposed to have been a member of the linen or woollen trade, as it was not customary in his day for members outside the fraternity of the particular trades to which these companies belonged to be admitted members, as is now the case.

His father was also named John, and was a member of the same Company, to the freedom of which he was admitted on the 5th August, 1558 (4 and 5 William and Mary). Local tradition says the father was a shepherd boy who belonged to Crosby, and left his employment there to seek his fortune in the great city of London, as so many, both

[1] Since this was written, Canon Armour has retired from the position of head master, and I wish him all happiness in his retirement.—1903.

before and since, have done. In his case, he appears to have found it; hence, no doubt, the reason why his son founded the school in Great Crosby, rather than elsewhere. That the father was born in Great Crosby is stated in his son's will.

Both father and son lived and died in St. Augustine's parish, near St. Paul's gate.

John Harrison the father married a lady called Ann Staper, and left a numerous family.

John Harrison the son died in the year 1619, having made a will, dated 15th May, 1618, with a codicil dated 24th July, 1619. He died childless, but left a widow, of whom no record seems to have been kept.

By his will he gave and bequeathed as follows:

I give and bequeath unto the Master and Wardens and Assistants of the Company or Fraternity of St. John Baptist of the mystery of Merchant Tailors [Tailors being spelt with an *i* instead of a *y*, as now] in London, whereof I am a Brother, 30*l.* to make the said Company a Dinner on the day of my funeral.

He evidently meant them to have a good feast, for I suppose £30, in 1619, would be equal to £100 now. It then proceeds:

Item, I give and bequeath unto the Master, Wardens, and Assistants of the said Company or Fraternity 500*l.* in money, to the end and intent that they or their successors, Master, Wardens, and Assistants of the said Company or Fraternity for the time being, should erect and build up in Great Crosby, in the parish of Shefton, in the County of Lancaster, where my father was born, within convenient time after my decease, One free Grammar School for the teaching, educating, and instructing of youth in the grammar and rules of learning, for ever, which shall be called by the name of "The Merchant "Tailors' School, founded at the charge of John Harrison." And I will that the said School shall have continuance for ever of one Master and one Usher, and my will and meaning is that the Master, Wardens, and Assistants of the said Fraternity for the time being and their Successors shall be Governors of the said Free School for ever, and shall from time to time

for ever nominate and appoint one sufficient discreet, learned man to be Master of the said School, and one other sufficient discreet, learned man to be Usher of the said School. Item, for the maintenance and continuance of the said school and of the said Master and Usher, and for preferment of other charitable payments hereafter mentioned, I do give will and devise unto the said Master, Wardens, and Assistants and their Successors for ever, all my messuages, houses, grounds and tenements situate in Crane Court, in the parish of St. Augustine. And all my four houses on the street side which lieth in the parish of Saint Augustine aforesaid in the street called the Old Change, in the Ward of Farringdon within the City of London, and all those my two houses lying in Saint Swithin's Lane, near London Stone, with this and every of their appurtenances and the reversion and reversions thereof. To the end and intent that the said Master, Wardens, and Assistants for the time being and their Successors for ever, shall with the rents, issues, and profits of the said messuages, houses, and tenements yearly for ever pay unto the Master of the said School for his stipend and wages 30*l.*, and to the Usher of the said School for his stipend and wages 20*l.* per annum, and that the said Master, Wardens, and Assistants and their Successors shall yearly for ever out of the said rents and profits pay to and amongst the poor for the time being dwelling in Lamb Alley aforesaid, by and with the consent of the chiefest of the parish of St. Augustine aforesaid, 20*l.* per annum, and that the remainder of the said rents and profits of the said tenements (reserving 5*l.* per annum for repairing of the said School) shall be bestowed to and amongst the poor Brethren of the said Company so far as it will extend by 20*s.* a quarter a piece.

After the testator's death, in 1619, the Court of the Company, having had the will read, and ascertained (mark the prudence) that he had left "sufficiently in money and lands for the perform-"ance thereof"..."lovingly and willingly accepted "of the said gift, and purpose, God willing, to "perform the contents of the said will according "to the true meaning thereof."

So far as I have been able to make out, the property devised consisted of 9 houses in Crane Court, 2 houses in St. Swithin Lane, and 4 houses in Old Change, London. The total rental appears to have

been £131 13*s* 4*d*., but the houses in Change Alley appear to have been destroyed by fire, and not rebuilt till 1634; during which time, of course, no income was derived from them.

It would appear that before his death John Harrison had been in communication with Sir Richard Molineux, ancestor of the present Lord Sefton, on the subject of the school. The master, wardens, and assistants accordingly placed themselves in communication with Sir Richard, and arranged for the erection of the school, under the supervision of another John Harrison, at Crosby, a kinsman of the founder.

It seems probable that the building had been begun in testator's lifetime, but whether or not Sir Richard Molineux gave the land on which the school was built, or whether he was only asked, as the notable man of the district ("farmer" of the manor), to assist the company by overlooking the work, does not clearly appear. The letter, however, recorded in the Court minutes, under date 18 August, 1619, would appear to favour the latter view. It is so quaint, I will give it in *extenso* :—

A Lre to Sir Richard Molineux knight, the words whereof are these, viz. :—

Right Woorll Sir,

Whereas Mr John Harrison a brother of our Company lately dec., having in his life tyme as it is well known unto yor woorpp a full determinacon for ye building a free grammar schoole, in Much Crosby, and as we have heard yor woorpp was a great furtherer of that work. Now right woorll in that Mr John Harrison hath devised unto ye Corporacon of the Company of Mchant Taylers in Lond. five hundreth poundes in money for ye finishinge of the said Schoole [note the word "finishing," implying that the erection had been commenced] and competent meanes for the continuance thereof for ever, Wee therefore ye Mr and Wardens of that Comp. (having according to the trust in us reposed in performance of the Testator's will a determinate purpose to hasten the finishinge of the same) doe humbly intreat yor woorpp that you would be

pleased to vouchsafe yo$^{r}$ favour and continuance in the going on and finishinge of y$^{e}$ good work as you did in the begininge. And therein we shall not onely account ourselves much bound unto yo$^{r}$ woor$^{pp}$, but wee will be ready to doe you any kind office wherein you shall have occation to use us. And in the interrim wee rest yo$^{r}$ assured loving friends,

To the Right Woor$^{ll}$ and our Worthy
good friend Sir Richard Molineux,
Knight & Barronet, these be ad$^{ss}$.

Muchantailors Hall, the
23$^{rd}$ of August 1619.

John Slaney
John Prowd
Peter Towers
James Traves
Edmund Crytch
} Wardens.

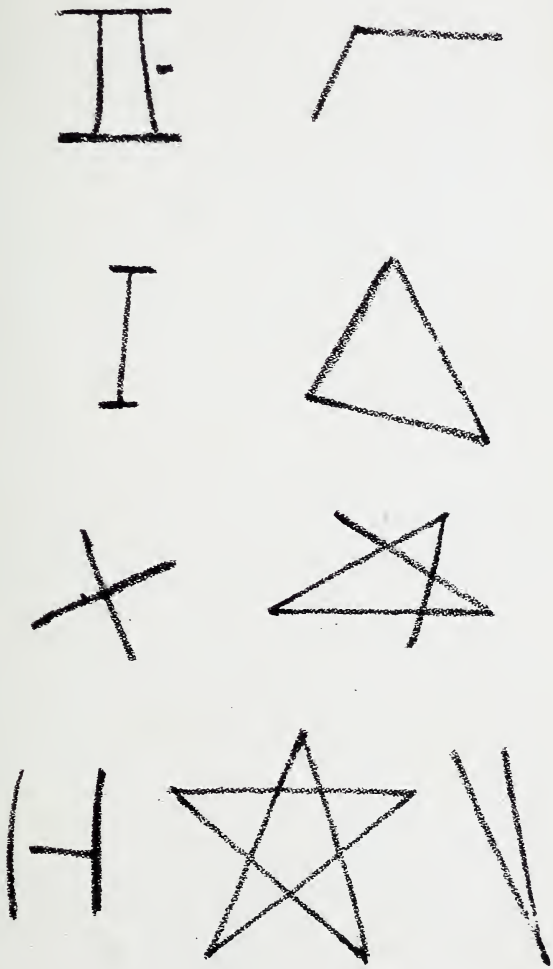
A similar letter was written to one Mr. Gregory Turner, who, according to the list given in Baines' *History of Lancashire* of the "Rectors of Sefton," held that office between 1602 and 1629, but no letter of reply to either of them has been preserved.

The building appears to have been proceeded with; but, towards the middle of 1620, the Court apparently had had some doubts as to whether the money was being properly expended, and at a Court held on the 28th June, 1620, they resolved as follows:—

It was at this Court ordered that a letter under our M$^{r}$ and Wardens hands shalbe written to Sir Richard Mollineux, Knight, concerning the building of the School in Lanc. according to the will of M$^{r}$ John Harrison, dec., w$^{ch}$ was accordingly done, the words whereof are these, viz$^{t}$:—

Right Woor$^{ll}$ Sir,

Right Woor$^{ll}$ wee (the M$^{r}$ and Wardens of the Company of M'chanttailors) are sorry we did not know of your last being in London untill it was too late, but well understand of your great charge and paynes bestowed on the foundacon of our Schoole, lately devised to us by the last will and testament of our loving brother M$^{r}$ John Harrison, deceased, for the w$^{ch}$ the whole Company doe acknowledg themselves much bound to your Woor$^{pp}$ in all thankfulness. And doe humbly desire your loving favo$^{r}$ and furtherance untill the finishing thereof. We have lately received a letter from M$^{r}$ Harrison at Much Crosbie, wherein he desireth that some course may be taken for more money. It is o$^{r}$ desire that no money be



MASONS' MARKS ON THE OLD SCHOOL HOUSE.

wanting for the pformance of the worke. And we are informed by the executors of Mr John Harrison that they have already disbursed Two hundreth and Tenn Pounds, and have given order for fifty pounds more, wch they assure us will be deliv'ed before this letter cometh to your hands. Mr Harrison doth write in his letter that he will send us an Accompt which wee desire maie be pused and approved of by your Woorpp with the help of Mr Gregory Turner, whom Mr Harrison himselfe had intreated for that business, soe to send us a Coppy thereof that we may give the whole Company satisfaction how farr ye businefs is effected. And soe with our hearty commendacons remembered to your Woorpp we commit you to God and rest Your lovinge friends,

Jno Slaney, Mr.
Peter Towers } Wardens.
Edmund Creche }

Merchauntailors Hall, the
13th July, 1620.

To the Right Woorll and our worthy
friend Sr Richard Mollineux, Knight
and Barronett, these be ads'.

On the 23rd August, 1620, the following appears in the minutes :—

The Master and Wardens to appoint a trusty messenger [who appears to have been their clerk] to take a workman with him, and to see what is done for the School in Lancashire, to take an accompt of the money already disbursed, and to have order for further supply of money for the finishinge thereof.

Whether this was in consequence of a reply from Sir Richard Molineux declining to interfere, or in the absence of reply, or in consequence of urgent representations from "Mr. Harrison of Much "Crosbie," as to the want of more money, does not appear.

On the 22nd September, 1620, is an entry, ordering that the Company's arms shall be drawn on parchment, and sent down to Much Crosby, that the freemason might draw them on stone, to be set up in the school.

The following inscription, under date of 1620, is preserved on a brass plate, with the arms of Harrison on the left-hand corner, and of the

Company on the right—in Latin and English—in these words :—

In Scholam à Clarissimo Viro Duo Joanne Harrison Crosbiæ Magna in Agro Lancastrensi exstructam quam Dignissimi Societatis Mercatorum Scissorum apud. Londinates fidei ipse Societatis olim insigne Ornamentum curandum Comendavit. Anno Domini, 1620.

"Quam Jactat Crosbeia, Scholam Phœbiq Sacellum,
Debetur meritis, Magne Patrone, Tuis.

Tantus amor patriæ, tantus Virtutis honestæ,
Tantus doctrinæ, et relligionis amor.

Pan Phœbe cedit ; fit Tityrus ipse Palæmon ;
Et Corydon sites jam colit ipse bonas.

Est natura Solum : præceptor cultor agelli ;
Semina, doctrinæ sunt documenta sacræ.

Percipit hine fructus Ecclesia : percipit indè
Publica res tandem : servit utrique Schola.

Crosbeia & merito nobis nunc Magna vocatur ;
Magna Schola est patriæ gloria, magna honos."

"This School, of which Much Crosbey may we boast,
Was built by Harrison's charity and cost.

Religion's, Learning's, Virtue's, Countrey's love,
To this good work his gracious heart did move.

Pan yield's to Phœbus ; and Palæmon's part
Act's Tityrus, nay, Corydon himself learn's Art.

Nature's the Soil ; the Tiller of the field
The Master is : the seed which fruit doth yield

Are virtuous documents, Welfare and Health
Are hence derived to Church and Comonwealth.

Crosbey now Much or Great, wee wel may name ;
For by the School it doth receive great fame.

For a long time this inscription was hidden by the plaster of the school, but some years ago it was cleaned, and placed in the position it now occupies in the new building.

An entry on the 5th October, 1620 (which shows that the clerk was no laggard in the business on which he had been sent on the 23rd August), states :—

The Comon Clark made relation how forward he found the free School at Much Crosbie, and delivered an estimate of the charge thereof, w^ch^ gave this Court good content.

The school was not completed on the 20th June, 1621, and Mr. Harrison of Much Crosbie seems to have felt himself in some difficulty with the builder

or freemason, as he is called in the following minute, for on that date occurs this minute :—

A Letter from John Harrison, of Much Crosbie, was at this Court openly read, wherein he desireth to have some aid from London, to assist him in his business concerning the School there. Whereupon it is thought fitt to write to that worthy Knight, Sir Richard Mollineux, to entreate his aid and assistance therein, w^ch^ was accordingly done, y^e^ words whereof are these :—

Right Woor^ll^, our Clark hath lately received a letter from John Harrison out of Lancashire, wherein he writeth that he is very like to taste a dish of hard dealing at y^e^ hands of John Turner, the freemason, in measuring of his work [this business of measuring seems to have been a cause of strife in those as in our days] and doth therefore desire some messenger from us to be an eye witness of his dealing, and to take an Accompt how our money is disbursed. Wherein (as heretofore wee have made bold with your woor^pp^, soe now again) wee humbly crave your aide and assistance y^t^ you would be pleased to appoint your servant M^r^ Hatton, to see y^e^ measuring of y^e^ School, and to puse John Harrison's Accompt, whose paynes herein for us shall not be unrewarded. Wee wrote heretofore a few lynes to M^r^ Gregory Turner, to be a meanes that his brother might deale favourably, and doe us justice in y^e^ measuring of his work, which wee doubt nott but y^t^ he will performe according to our expectation. And thus craving pardon for our boldness in our many requests for your Woor^pps^ favour and assistance in y^e^ worke w^ch^ wee hope will prove for y^e^ comon good of y^e^ country thereabouts, with our kindest salutation and best wishes to your Woor^pp^ wee take our leave and comitt you to the protection of the Almighty, resting your loving friends, &c.

Merchauntailors Hall,
21st June, 1621.

The Company must have had some further communication from Lancashire, for on the 20th August, 1621, occurs the following minute :—

This Court understanding that their School at Much Crosbie is not yet covered, and that John Harrison, who hath charge thereof, hath desired to be supplyed with more money. It is at this Court ordered that fifty pounds shalbe assigned to M^r^ Pocock [the founder's executor] to be payed unto him, and that a letter under the hand of our M^r^ and Wardens shall

presently be sent unto him for y^e speedy covering of the said Schoole, and that he shall with all convenient speed come to London and bring up his acompts with him, and also the contract between the ffreemason and himselfe.

They accordingly wrote the following letter, dated the last day of August, 1621, from which it will be seen that dealings with builders in those days were not always of the pleasantest, and that similar disputes took place then, as do at this day.

After our hearty commendacons, &c. Wee have at our last Court considered of your last letter written to our Clark, wherein wee perceive a difference between you and y^e Mason, who as you write would wrong you in the measuring of the worke, wee doubt not but you know wherein as well as if we sent a Messenger to see. [They had, evidently, full confidence in Mr. Harrison.] If he have made more windowes than needeth and thereby gayneth, it is now too late to alter that which is done, and he will look to be payed according to the contract made between you and him. Yet wee advise you not to pay him all his money untill we may be satisfied he hath done us noe wronge. [Here appears the vexed question of deviation from contract, and, possibly, "extras."] Wee have that good opinion of y^t worthie Knight, S^r Richard Mollineux, that he will not suffer any workman to abuse us in soe good a work. [Sir Richard seems to have had more power than his successor has now.] The Schoole hath been long in hand, and as wee understand by M^r Pocock's man (who was lately there) that it is not yett covered w^ch wee merveille at. Wee doe therefore give you to understand that it is our ernest desire to have y^e Schoole covered before Michaelmas next, for wee conceive it may much wrong y^e worke already done if it should lye open this winter. And because you write y^t some devise must be taken for more money. And that you should pceive that wee are unwilling that the worke should be undone for want thereof, wee have taken order with M^r Pococke to make over unto you fifty pounds more w^ch he hath promesed to doe with all expedicon. And as soon as you have caused the school to be covered wee would have you come up to London and bring your Accompts and the contract between the Mason and yourselfe, that wee may understand how the Benefactor's money is to be bestowed, and how nere the School is finised, it hath been a far more chargeable worke than was

expected, and we hope you will prove yourselfe a wise and carefull Steward. And soe wee comit you to God, and rest

Your loving friends &c.

Merchant Taylors' Hall, the
last day of August, 1621.

How ancient are the difficulties that arise between builders and those who employ them, and how very much this letter accords with their present day relations!

The school was built by local masons, engaged by John Harrison of Great Crosby, and the money was supplied by the executors. The cash-books of the Company contain no entries of sums paid for the school building. The Company seems to have placed their main reliance upon Sir Rd. Mollineux.

Under date 16th October, 1621, there is a minute that—

Letters directed to Sir Richard Mollineux Knt., out of Lancashire, were delivered by him to the Common Clark, to acquaint the Company therewith, which were at this Court openly read, And consideration of them being had, the Court doth entreat our Master and Wardens to take some time to confer with the said Sir Richard, to thend that they may better understand how the business is carried concerning the School in Lancashire.

Again, on the 5th November following:—

And be it remembered that upon Monday the 5th day of Novr, after Dinner, the whole number of assistants then present resorted into the Parlor to appoint auditors to peruse and audit John Harrison's accompts for the money he had disbursed towards the building of the School in Lancashire, he having lately come to London.

And it was further ordered that our Master and Wardens or the more part of them, shall be entreated to peruse and audit the accompts of the said John Harrison and certify the next Court of Assistants what they have done therein.

They do not seem to have lost much time in the audit, for there is a long minute of the 15th Nov., as follows:—

Report being made at this Court by the Com. that had

perused John Harrison's accounts for the charge of the School in Lancashire, which account the Com. could not give allowance by reason he had brought no discharge from the parties that had received divers sums of money, and therefore it may seem doubtful to them whether the parties were satisfied or no. It is therefore ordered and agreed that a letter under our Master and Wardens hands shall be directed and sent unto two of Sir Richard Mollineux men, to peruse and ratify said Harrison's accounts, which was accordingly done.

After our hearty commendations, &c. It hath pleased your worthy Knight to acquaint us with your letters directed unto him, whereby wee understood that John Harrison hath refused to yield up an Accompt to you concerning our free School at Much Crosby, since w^ch^ tyme he hath been with us at London, and tendered his Accompt, which we have pused and find it came unto us much like his answer made unto you, which we have found fault with him for, and have not given him any allowance thereof untill it be ratified by you, the copie whereof we have sent you under his hand. These are therefore (with the favour and good liking of your hon^ble^ Knight) to call him before you and to examine his Accompts, and to satisfie yourselves therein that it may be a true accompt, and that all men are payd according as he hath sett downe, for he has brought noe discharge from such as have by his Accompts received good somes of money as for Timber, Chalk-stone, Coles, &c. And whereas there is a difference between John Turner the mason and him about the measuring of the worke, Wee desire that two indifferent men that have skill in that worke, one for us another for him, may agree upon the controversie and if they cannot, then yourselves to be umpires, and what shall be found coming to him more than he hath received, Wee promise to pay with all expedition, and the like for William Hunt, who is to be payed according to y^e^ measure and rate mentioned in y^e^ contract between John Harrison and himself. It appe^th^ by his Accompt that there is £12 4*s.* 5*d.* remayning in his hands, whereof he saith that M^r^ Gregory Turner hath detayned Eight pounds towards the satisfaction of such money as may grow due unto his brother the mason, he hath also given us notice of Twenty-one pounds thirteen shillings and sixepence w^ch^ he oweth for worke already done, y^e^ particulars whereof wee have sente you written at the latter end of his accompt desiring you, that if you find them due, they maie be payd withall expedicon, wee have so far p'vayled with S^r^ Richard Mollineux, yo^r^ M^r^, that he is plesed, and purposeth to write unto you to that effect, y^t^ what money soever you shall disburse there for the schoole charge, shalbe repayed unto him here by us at the sight of your letter, for wee desire y^t^ y^e^ labourer may have his money soe

soone as he hath done his worke. There are some things in the Schoole more to be done which John Harrison hath enformed us of, a note whereof wee have sent you herein-closed requesting your order and directions therein, and whatsoever you in your discrecons shall think fit to be done, wee will ratify and allow, and as wee are bound to request yo^r^ paynes and care herein, soe wee will not be ungratefull in y^e^ requitall thereof, and so wee bid you heartily farewell and rest

Your loveing friends

Merchantailors' Hall,
24th Nov., 1621.

Thomas Marsham, M^r^.
Edmund Criche
Edward Catcher
Henry Polsted
William Speight
} Wardens

To our loveing friends
M^r^ Thomas Hutton and
M^r^ William Fazakerly, servants to Hon^ble^ S^r^ Richard Mollineux, Knight and Barronett, at his howse at Sefton in Lancas^r^.

And it is ordered that the s^d^ John Harrison shall have 3*l* given him for his charges out of Lancashire and back again, our Master to pay the same and have it allowed in his account.

From this it would appear that the Master and Wardens had had a personal interview with Sir Richard Molineux in London.

£3 does not seem an extravagant allowance, even with money at its then value, for a journey from Crosby to London, which would occupy several days. It appears from the whole of the letters that the Company conducted its business in a very business-like way, and with a due regard to getting proper value for the money expended.

It must be assumed that Mr. John Harrison's account was found satisfactory, and duly audited and allowed, as there does not appear to be any further minute concerning it.

The work did not appear even now to be quite finished, as there is a minute of the 23rd August, 1623, that "M^r^ Pocock (the Executor) had pro-"mised to pay the £50 yet remaining in his hands "towards finishing the School"; and on the 24th October, 1624, "that £10 be delivered to

"Mr Thomas Carter for and towards the finishing "of the Schoole."

The houses devised to the Company then consisted of 2 tenements in St. Swithun's Lane, and 9 tenements in Crane Court, London, producing a total income of £121 13*s.* 4*d.* The houses in Change Alley were destroyed by fire, and appear not to have been rebuilt until 1634.

In March, 1621, the Court appointed the first headmaster, Mr. John Kidd, M.A., hearing, as the minute says, "so good a report of the honesty, "sufficence, and good life and commendation of the "said Mr Kidd, being also recommended to this "Court by a letter from Mrs Harrison late wife of "the said Mr John Harrison deceased." He was to have a salary of £30, according to the will, to be paid quarterly, "to continue so long as he shall "behave himself well, and be found fit for the place "or otherwise during the Company's pleasure."

The inevitable "conscience" difficulty arose—possibly because the bulk of the inhabitants of Great Crosby were, no doubt, Roman Catholics, but this does not appear—for we find in a minute of the 26th July, 1622, that—

A letter from Mr John Kidd the Company's Schoolmaster lately chosen for their School at Much Crosby in Lancashire, was at this Court openly read, wherein he requested the Co. to understand that their School is not yet finished [yet this is fifteen months after his appointment], but he hoped shortly to be seated therein, and desired some warrant from the Company (until orders for the same School may be sent down) that he may refuse to teach such children whose parents will not allow to have them catechised, whereupon consideration being had, it is ordered that a letter shall be written and subscribed by our Master and Wardens and sent unto the said Schoolmaster by the next convenient Messenger, which was accordingly performed, the words whereof are these, viz.:—

After our hearty commendations. Your letter of the 21st June, 1622, came to our hands about the 22nd July [fancy, a month from Lancashire to London!] and which was

G MADDISON
Hugh. Parkin.
R+S G HAWORTH
1821 C▽H 1815
J GILLMOY. C KELLY
T. TUER I W
JS. J·Clark DF
1829·
DAINGERFIELD.
R B THOMAS
E CAMPBELL

MERCHANT TAYLORS' SCHOOL, GREAT CROSBY.
NAMES INSCRIBED ON STONEWORK OUTSIDE THE OLD SCHOOL HOUSE

read at a Court held the 22nd July of the same month, whereby we understand how backward the School is in finishing, and that you are not yet entered into your charge of teaching, which we desire may be both effected with all convenient speed. And whereas it is your desire (until the School orders be sent down) to have warrant from us concerning such children as shall refuse to be catechised, it is the whole Court's opinion, which they take to stand with the true meaning of the Founder, that you shall teach none such, and do therefore advise you to deny to teach any such children whose Parents will refuse to have them catechised, yet notwithstanding we leave it to your discretion to entertain such as you have hope will be drawne to be conformable to good orders and forabudaries—we leave that to your own discretion until we resolve otherwise, and further when you shall write that there is cause for an Usher, the Company will consider of your request. And so wishing you all good success in the execution of your charge in teaching, not doubting of your care and diligence therein, we comit you to God and rest

M.T. Hall, Your loving friend,
30th July, 1622. Thomas Marsham, Mr

On the 6th Dec., 1622 (by which time, I suppose, the school must have been ready for commencing), Thomas Carter, servant to Richard Baldock, the "Comon Clark," was appointed usher at £20 a-year. A minute of the 21st Jan., 1623, states that—

Our Master and Wardens having ordered the last Court of Assistants to nominate some 6 or 7 young men of the Livery to be feoffees in trust for a piece of land in Lancashire, whereon the Co.'s School now standeth, did acquaint this Court with these names—viz. of Benjn Henshawe, Jervis Elwes, Henry Elwes, Jerrard Gore, Nicholas Hearne, John Crich, and Thos Carter, which 7 persons were well approved of by this Court, and so ratified allowed.

It is at the same Court ordered that Thomas Carter the Co.'s usher at Much Crosby shall have 20 marks given him to supply his present wants Mr Wardn Warner to pay the same and have it allowed in his account.

It is likewise ordered that the Master and Wardens shall have power to supply such moneys as shall be wanting for the finishing of the wall there, and that two of the Wardens with the Common Clerk shall go unto Sir Richd Mollineux to see if conveniently they may procure so much ground from him as may make the wall range with the school.

What reply Sir Richard gave to the request does not appear.

On the 28th March, 1623, the master and wardens wrote—

To o^r loving friend M^r John Kidd, schoolmaster of o^r free schoole at Much Crosby, Lancashire,—

These are to certifie you, That we have taken into consideration the benefit that maie arrise to the comon of y^e country and creditt of y^e Schoole, by the ordering and setting a sufficient man to teach such children (whose parents are inclined thereunto) to write faire. And for that purpose wee have appointed Thomas Carter of whom we have formerlie advertized you, not only to supply the place of Usher in the said Schoole, but alsoe to take upon him the whole charge and care of instructing the schollers to write, being a thing very needful and of great importance in any schoole whatsoever, and to receive the profitt thereof towards his better maintenance, of whose sufficiency therein we have had good experience, and thinke him worthy thereof, we have alsoe taken order that you join together to take an exact view of the wall to encompass the school and of such other lodgings and necessary addicons as may convenientlie be made for yours and his use for the present and others in future time, and to send us a particuler thereof with all speed, and we shall and wilbe ready forthwith upon receipt thereof to accommodate the Schoole therein, soe farre forth as the donor's guift will give us leave, which is less than fifty pounds now remayning, desiring alsoe that you two loveingly assist one another in the good husbandinge and managing the same in such sorte for the good of the Companie and the credit of yourselves and the Schoole as it hereafter when we shall take a view thereof we may have noe just cause to condemne or be displeased with either of you for y^e same. And soe wee committ you to God and rest.

Up to this time it would appear as if the school had not got into working order, but a minute of the 25th June, 1623, states—

The orders for the Companie's School at Much Crosby, in Lancashire, that were at the last Court of Assistants ratified and allowed, being fairly engrossed on vellum, were presented to the Court and signed by the Master and Wardens and so many of the Assistants as were present. The copy whereof is here entered at large: —

Articles to be observed and fulfilled as well by the Parents and friends of such children as are presented to be freelie

taught in the School of Much Crosby, in the County of Lancaster, belonging to the C° of Merchant Tailors, as also by the Schoolmaster, Usher, and Scholars there, as followeth, viz^t:—

ARTICLES FOR PARENTS AND FRIENDS.

1. Imprimis. You are to present male children only to be freelie taught in this School.

2. Item. That the inhabitants of Much Crosby as well as others shall be content to pay unto the Schoolmaster for the admission of every Scholar, and writing his name in the Register, 12 pence.

3. Item. If your child reasonably proved be found unapt to learn grammar, you being warned thereof shall willingly take him away, but if he be apt to learn you shall be content that he may continue still until he have competent learning.

4. If your child admitted be afterwards absent from this school 9 days together without licence or reasonable cause, then he shall pay 6 pence before he be readmitted.

5. Item. If the Scholar once admitted shall afterwards go away to any other School to learn, his place forthwith to be accounted void.

6. Item. You shall be content your children shall have due reasonable correction, either for misbehaving themselves in manners, or negligence in learning. [Very much needed in these days.]

7. Item. You shall find them competent books for their learning, and such as the Schoolmaster shall think good from time to time to teach them.

8. Item. Your children shall come to the School at 7 o'clock, Summer and Winter, in the morning and tarry there until 11 o'clock; and at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, and there remain until 5 at night, unless the Master licences to the contrary.

9. Item. If any refuse to have their children catechised by Master or Usher, or to learn the Catechism, if upon 3 warnings in 3 weeks they reform not, their places to be void, much more if any refuse to let their children be present at prayers or singing of psalms in the School or especially in the Church at the time of service or Sermons.

10. Item. That every Scholar shall go to Church to serve God upon the Sabbath and holy days, and be furnished with one of these four books to carry with him, viz: Psalm Book, Psalter, Testament or Bible, and that such as can write do take notes at Sermons and render account to the Master upon examination.

ARTICLES FOR THE SCHOOLMASTER AND USHER.

1. Imprimus. If the offerere be content with these Articles, and a child allowable by the same, he shall be admitted into the School for a Free Scholar, otherwise not.

2. Item. You shall not give your Scholars leave to play at any man's request in any week wherein falleth an holy day nor in any week wherein there is no holy day, saving only on Tuesday or Thursday, unless it be at the request of some worthy person, and for violating this decree or order you shall for every default pay 3*s.* 4*d.*, and the said penalty to be given for the poor by the hands of the Churchwardens.

3. Item. That the Schoolmaster and Usher never be absent from the School both together, and neither of them to be absent above 21 working days at any time in the year.

4. Item. That the Master shall not leave all the burden upon the Usher, nor the Usher to take what scholars he list to his teaching, but such only as the Master shall commit unto him.

5. Item. That every holiday or Saturday the Master or Usher, or both, shall instruct and examine all their Scholars in the principles of religion, to which end they shall use some catechism approved by the authority of the Church of England.

6. Item. The Comp^y^ intending the honor of religion and good of the country, chargeth the Schoolmaster and Usher both to be discreet and warie in their ways, goodly, sober and honest in their conversation, and if either of them prove scandalous that way the other is charged, if he cannot by good counsil and example inform him, to inform the Company in due time that they may speedily take order in it. And to take order that prayers be used in the School every morning and evening.

AN ARTICLE FOR SCHOLARS.

Item. That the Scholars shall not exclude the Master and Usher at any time before the feast of the Nativity of Our Saviour Christ, according as it hath been the fashion in some countreys, but shall be willing to be dismissed by the Master, a week or ten days before the time, according to his discretion.

In August, 1623, the boundary wall, which was mentioned in the letter of the Master and Wardens to Mr. Kidd of the 28th March, does not appear to have been completed, for there is a minute under date of 23rd August, that the Common Clark informed the Court that he had received a letter from Mr. Thomas Carter, the Usher—

That the tenants refuse to carry any more stone for the wall without pay. It is ordered by this Court that rather than the work shall stand at a staie the Company to pay for carriage, and to signify so much to Mr Thomas Carter.

The Usher seems to have had some difficulty in getting paid for teaching writing, which it will be remembered was exclusively to be his province and, for which he was to receive the fees for himself.

On the 14th October, 1623, a letter from Mr. Thos. Carter is taken into consideration—

Wherein he desireth to have some authority from the Company to demand some recompense from the parents or friends of such children as desire to be taught the art of writing, whereupon consideration being had, It is ordered and agreed that our Master and Wardens shall write a letter to the Townsmen of Much Crosby and the Inhabitants thereabouts, to signify unto them that it is the Company's order that the sd Thos Carter shall demand, quarterly, monthly or weekly such allowance and consideration of the parents or friends of such scholars or children as shall desire to have them taught the art of writing as the said parents and friends and the sd Thos Carter shall agree upon, and to refuse to teach such as deny to pay anything at all.

It would thus appear that there were no fixed fees for teaching writing, but it was a matter of bargain between the Usher and the parent.

The finishing of the school seems to have got along slowly from the 12th October, 1624, nearly two years after the appointment of the Usher, which it would appear had been rather hastily done, perhaps to find a berth for "the servant to Richard Baldock "the Comon Clark" (see minute of 6th December, 1622) there is a minute as follows :—

Item. It is ordered that £10 be delivered to Thomas Carter for and towards the finishing of the Company's school at Much Crosby in Lancashire. And Mr Kidd the Master of that school, and the said Carter, his Usher, to send up an account of the charge the Company hath been at in and about the buildings then under their hands, and Mr Warden Brown to pay the said £10 and have it allowed in his account.

This Court is pleased upon the humble Petition of Thos Carter, Usher of the Company's school at Much Crosby, in Lancashire, to bestow on him as of their free gift towards the supplying of his present wants and charge in travelling [it does not appear where he had been] the sum of 40*s.*, and charged him to be careful and diligent in supplying his place in their Free School, whereunto he is admitted Usher, our Master to pay the same, and have it allowed in his account.

Expenditure of money had not ceased in 1626, for a minute of the 11th July of that year says—

It is at this Court ordered that the sum of 3*l.* and 4*d.* heretofore laid out by Thomas Carter the Company's Usher at their School at Great Crosby, in Lancashire, about making of their gardens and other necessaries shall be paid unto him. But this Court doth think fit and so order, That from henceforth there shall be no such allowance hereafter made without the special direction of this Court touching such kinds of disbursements.

Thus Mr. Thos. Carter got a rap on the knuckles for spending money without authority. It would seem from these entries that Mr. Thomas Carter was very much independent of the Head Master, and conducted his correspondence directly with the Company and not through the medium of the Head Master.

On the 28th August, 1629, Mr. Gore, Mr. Elwes, Mr. Draper, Mr. Benson, and Mr. Beardall, together with the Common Clerk, were appointed a committee to view the schools. Up to this time the clerk only had visited the Crosby school, but as the Committee usually visited Wolverhampton and Rusbrook, where also the Company had schools, they extended their riding into Lancashire.

On the 5th Sept., 1629, there was taken out of the Treasury £301 7*s.* 11*d.*, "towards the riding "charges and other expenses of the Committee "appointed to ride to Wolverhampton, Much Cros-"bie, and Russbrook, and for other necessary "affairs of this Company,"—"which was the

"money due upon the foote of the account of Mr. "Benson, and was delivered to Mr. Robert Draper, "Mr.," for which he was to be accountable.

This money, so far as the journey was concerned, must have been on account, as the Committee was only appointed on 28th August, and could not have got to the three places and back before the 5th September following.

On the 21st October the Committee presented their report to the Court, which, so far as Crosby was concerned, was as follows:—

And then they departed from thence for Much Crosby, in Lancashire, when they found the School house very fair and substantially builded with free stone, but the School very slenderly furnished with Scholars, and many of those scholars the children of poor people, and some of them papists, and Mr Nicholas Johnson and Thomas Griffith, who acknowledged themselves to be convicted Recusants, in the name of the inhabitants there delivered a petition to the Com. very scandalous against Mr Kidd, the Schoolmaster, but upon examination of the contents thereof, found the same to be malicious and framed upon no just ground, and the Com. advise this Court that they thought it fit that Mr Kidd, the Schoolmaster, be required from this Court to take special care that his Scholars be well instructed in the Grammar rules, and the Usher be not permitted to lodge out of the School inasmuch as there is a convenient lodging and study there provided for him, but they perceived that neither the Master nor Usher could well furnish the same, and therefore moved the Court that they would be pleased to disburse so much money aforehand out of Mr Harrison's account as may buy bedding and other necessaries for the furnishing of the Usher's chamber there. And the Com. further moved that for the better encouragement and enabling of the scholars there in their learning, Dictionaries and other books may be bought and provided, to be sent thither to remain openly in the School for the common use of the School which report this Court did approve of, and hath ordered supplies both for the books and bedding be made accordingly.

At the same Court the audit of the expenditure of the £301 7*s.* 11*d.* was ordered.

By a minute of the 4th May, 1630, the books ordered appear to have been:—

Calepine's diction, Cooper's diction, Scapulæ, Lexicon, Nizoly diction, Rider's diction, Seneca opera, Titus Livius, Denuere Epitheta, Licosthenis Apothegmata, Textoris Epitheta, Licosthenis Simil, Textoris officina, Glooleny observa, Elegantia poet, Valerius Maximus, Flores Prætarum, Thesaurus Poeticus, Pliny, Histor diction, Histor poet, and an English Bible.

It would thus seem that the course of study at the school was entirely classical.

The second visitation of the schools, which led to the institution of Local Visitors, was made under an order of the Court of 8th March, 1647.

The persons appointed to make the second visitation were—"Our Master, Mr. Warden Jerrard, "Mr. Warden Churchman, and Mr. Stone, together "with the Clerk of the Company."

These gentlemen, on the 3rd May, 1648 (nearly a year after, so they had not hurried themselves), brought up the following report:—

That they came next to Much Crosby, in the County of Lancaster, where we caused the Scholars to be examined by Mr. Dugard, our chief School Master of Merchant Tailors' School (who accompanied us on our journey) but found them very unready and raw in their answers and in their Grammar rules, and not above two Scholars in the School which could properly read a Chapter in the Bible—the School very slenderly furnished with Scholars, not above thirty boys, and most of them poor men's sons, and some of them Papists' children.

Mr. Carter seems to have ceased to be the Usher, for Mr. Fell is now named in that capacity, and was a debauched man and very scandalous in his life, "and Mr. Kidd had neglected the School and "applied himself to the ministry." Not very creditable to neglect that for which he was engaged and paid, even for the other purpose. It appears he had absented himself from the school, so that the better sort of people would not send their sons there.

The Committee accordingly reported:—

RA COWBAND
AD 1739
IOHN · LYON WXH
1639
RM E·C
PARKER
1741
E Hope
IOMN · RUST
Thos Smith. 1772
Scrope Calcutt
1766.

MERCHANT TAYLORS' SCHOOL, GREAT CROSBY
NAMES INSCRIBED ON STONEWORK OUTSIDE THE OLD SCHOOL HOUSE.

We are of opinion that the want of often examination of the School hath been a great cause of the decay of the School, and consider it fit for the future that power be given to some learned men and others dwelling thereabouts to be supervisors and to cause examination of the Scholars to be made twice every year, to see how they profit—from whom the Company may be informed from time to time of the proficiency of the Scholars, and how the Master and Usher do perform their duties and some allowance to be allotted therefore, which in our opinion will be a great means of advancing that School, and thereby the School Master and Usher will be incited to be more careful in the performance of their several duties in the School, which will be good satisfaction to the Company.

Mr. Fell was dismissed and Mr. John Smith, "a "hopeful young man, and late student of St. John's "at Cambridge, elected" to the Usher's place.

As local examiners or visitors they appointed Mr. John Hartley of Strangewaies, near Manchester, the Mayor and Minister of Liverpool for the time being, Mr. William Ward of Walton, minister, Mr. Ashurst, and Mr. Thomas Johnson, Mr. Thomas Bowtell of Melling, gentleman, and Mr. John Richardson of Sefton, or any four of them, to be visitors of the school. The mayor and minister of Liverpool being the controlling authorities for making appointments and summoning the other visitors.

The duties of the visitors were thus defined :—

To meet twice yearly, viz.: in the months of April and October, for the examination of the scholars thereof the particular days to be set down by the mayor and minister of Liverpool, who are requested to give timely notice thereof to the rest of the visitors, the 1st examination to begin in April next, and the sd visitors are entreated to give the Co. information from time to time how they find the Scholars profit in their learning, and how the Schoolmaster and Usher perform their duties, and likewise the remedies if anything be amiss, and where the defaults are. And they are desired to inform the Company what they conceive the reason to be, why the School hath fallen to that decay as of late it hath done.

Mr. Kidd seems to have got into trouble with the Company because of his attempt to be both a school master and a minister, and there were memorials to the Company both by his opponents and friends. He presented a petition to the Company, in which he draws a somewhat dismal account of the locality and the people. He says :—

The situation of the School in the most desolate and obscure angle of the country, surrounded with a twofold sea of (*sic*) and Ireland, the Irish ocean bounding it west and south, 500 recusants in the parish.

Besides popery, the extreme poverty, I will not say beggary of the country, is no small rub. The rude behaviour of the people, their almost incorrigible and incurable conditions, so that men of quality will not send their children hither, neither is there any fit to give entertainment to such, and for myself have tabled some and could never get payment.

The ordinary absence of Scholars, many of them kept away 2 or 3 days in a week, especially in plow time, but most of all in haytime and harvest, when they are absent a whole quarter of a year together, and yet 'tis expected they should profit.

The inability of many, the unwillingness of others, to find their boys books, I have bought myself for divers and could never be paid.

Mr. Kidd was dismissed, and in June, 1651, Mr. Stevens, B.L., was appointed Head Master, and he does not appear to have found the post a bed of roses, for in his first report, dated 19th Nov., only four or five months after his appointment, he says :—

I entered upon the School with this much advantage at least, that I cannot leave it worse than I found it, there being scarce a member in it besides such as have not yet learned their alphabet. My first care therefore, was not to admit such into the school, who, I supposed had no right to be taught there, that being the only way (if it be possible any way) to bring the scholars in to same. The natives, for I know not how more fitly to call them, being troubled thereat, came open mouthed railing against me because I would not suffer their girls and hornbook boys to be taught in the School. I urged against them those two Statutes which hang up in the School, amongst others of good antiquity,

1st, That they were to present male children only to be freely taught in the School; 2ndly, That if their children reasonably proved were found unapt to learn grammar, they being warned thereof, should willingly take them away,—by the former whereof I conceive, if I have not lost that little reason I had by being there long in so savage a place, their daughters, by the latter their sons who have not yet learnt perfectly to read English, are excluded, they replied, being rustically imperious, that they regarded not founder's or Companies' orders, that it was their free school, and unless I would teach these English Scholars, they would pull up the School stairs, which they say stand upon their ground, and suffer one another to have ingress, egress. or regress in to the house, but would pluck me out by the ears, and that all the Comp^s in England should not keep any one in here except he were in all things conformable to their will. Amazed at this barbarity, I resolved patiently to expect your farther pleasures herein.

The poor man seemed to consider he had got amongst a lot of savages!

The Court does not seem to have been in a hurry to advise him, for it is not until the month of March, 1652, that they write to him:—

Our advice therefore to you is, as concerning their first complaint. That until the School be brought into some better credit, you do permit English to be taught in the School, altho' it may seem to contradict the rules of other free schools, forbidding all female children to be taught there, whereby by degrees the School may be brought to a better order; and as concerning the residue of the complaint, both of you and the inhabitants, we know no better means to rectify the same than by referring the same to be examined by our Visitors, whom we have desired to compose the same if they can, and certify us thereof, for the meantime we entreat you to use your best prudence and care in the School, observing the articles of the School as much as with conveniency you may, and give no just occasion of sure complaint, wherein we shall give you all the encouragement we can, we being well assured that your succeeding Mr. Kidd in that place is not without some disadvantage.

Two years afterwards, on the 3rd May, 1654, Mr. Hartley (the visitor) wrote to the Company, as follows:—

I make bold to acquaint you that on Wednesday last we met at Much Crosby, and did visit the School there. By reason of my weakness and unfitness to travel, I had but an hard journey, but I will assure you I was much comforted and did much rejoice to see that School brought into such condition as now it is. We are all in great hope that a short time it will prove one of the most famous Schools in this country. There is about three score Scholars in it, four or five of which at least are ready to go to the University. The Upper Master is reported to be a very honest, civil Gent., and many men of quality desire to place their children with him, but he hath no spare room to lodge them in, which doth much hinder the good of the School. It was, therefore, earnestly desired by all the Visitors that the Co. would be pleased that one (*sic*) of building might be added to the dwelling house, and also some little place to sit two beasts and a horse in (without which it is impossible for a Minister to live.) I am confident that £50 will do all very decently, which, if they please to take into consideration and to grant, they cannot do a better work. I shall willingly myself undertake any pains to see that one penny thereof be not misemplied.

The £50 was advanced, and the school remained in good favour till the Dreadful Fire destroyed the trust property, and deprived the Master and Usher of their monies or some portion thereof.

The fire of 1666 destroyed all the houses, and all payments for a time ceased.

In 1667 the then Schoolmasters, John Ashworth and Thomas Barker, memorialized the company for their salaries; but received a reply "desiring "their patience till the houses be rebuilt." The Usher having, I suppose, nothing but his salary to depend upon, left.

The non-payment of salary, and the school being without an Usher, appear to have continued until 1692, when, by a decree of the Court of Judicature, established for the determination of differences touching houses burnt or demolished by the fire, it was ordered that the payments to be made by the company to the Master and Usher of the school, and for repairing the school, should be reduced

from £55 to £34 9*s.* 4*d.* per annum, for the term of 60 years, and that the payment to be made to the poor of the parish of St. Augustine should be reduced from the sum of £20 to the sum of £12 10*s.* 8*d.* for the same term.

After the end of the 60 years the full salaries were paid to the Master and Usher, and £20 (Company's land tax) to the poor of St. Augustine's, but no payments were made to the poor of the Company, as the Company's rents were needed for, and applied to, the extinction of a debt incurred in restoring the trust premises.

The memorials contain nothing between the time of the Great Fire of London and 1825, but Blundell's diary, being selections from the Diary of Nicholas Blundell, Esq., for 1702-28, affords us particulars of some of the head masters during that period.

A Mr. Waring, sometimes described as Parson Waring, was the head master between 1703 and 1711, and there are frequent notices of him in the diary. He was also parson of Crosby church, and it seems to have been the practice for many years for the same person to occupy both offices.

A Goosefeast appears to have been held at Crosby in October, at Parson Waring's house, at which Col. Blundell seems to have been a constant guest.

There are several quaint entries. It will be remembered that Col. Blundell was a Roman Catholic, and on February 7th. 1705, is an entry: "I went to Mr. Waring's, he spoke much against "James II."

In addition to the Goosefeast, he mentions several occasions on which he drank with Parson Waring, and also bowled with him at Ince, meaning, I presume, Ince Blundell.

On 25th Feb., 1707, occurs an entry: "My wife, "Mrs. Mills and I went to Mr Johnson's and eat

"pancakes. Thence we went to parson Waring's "and took a Fidler with us." Evidently the head master and parson was not of the austere type.

On Jan. 14th, 1711, "I went to Crosby Court," (the Manorial Court, I presume). "I drank with "Mr. Ford y^e steward, &c. I showed there some "tricks of legerdemeny to parson Waring, &c." Evidently pleasure was combined with business.

On Oct. 24th of same year, he says: "I went to "see parson Waring he being very ill: his brother "y^e schoolmaster of Prescot was there. I signed "a petiscion to y^e Company of Merchant Taylors "of London in behalf of Mr. Gerard Waring that "he might suckseed his Father."

The parson must have died very shortly after, for, on 31st October, Colonel Blundell attended the "corps" of Parson Waring to Sefton—"y^e corps "was carried in my coach-carriage."

The petition was crowned with success, for Mr. Gerard Waring was appointed head master, and the same intercourse appears to have subsisted between him and Colonel Blundell as between the latter and his father.

The first entry relating to Mr. Gerard Waring is on November 3rd, 1712, when Mr. Gerard Waring called on Colonel Blundell.

The Rev. Gerard Waring married Miss Julia Crosse, sister to the wife of Parson Letus, rector of Walton, in 1713, and the newly-married pair called on Colonel Blundell on the 27th May of that year.

On November 13, 1713, there is an entry: "I "went to parson Waring's in y^e morning and got "y^e Boys leave to play, and then went a coursing "with parson Letus, parson Waring, &c."

In 1722 the bowling seems to have changed from Ince to Crosby, so I presume that previously there was no green at Crosby. From this time to the end of the diary the bowling was at Crosby. Neither

the one at Ince nor the one at Crosby is at present in existence.

On one occasion, August 24, 1721, he says they bowled a match by moonlight and one candle! They must have been enthusiastic bowlers.

The succession of Head Masters does not seem to have been very well preserved, but in 1788 the Rev. Matthew Chester was appointed; he was also vicar of Melling. He was succeeded as Head Master by the Rev. Joseph Clark in about 1830, who was afterwards vicar of Great Crosby. He was succeeded, about 1850, by the Rev. John Bernard, M.A., of Magdalen College, Oxford, who was followed, in 1861, by the Rev. R. O. Carter, M.A., of Oriel College, Oxford. Mr. Carter retired in 1863, when the present[2] esteemed Head Master, the Rev. Samuel Crawford Armour (now Rev. Canon Armour, D.D.) was appointed.

In the year 1825, the annual rental of the houses had considerably increased, and after setting apart the annual sum of £30 for the Master and £20 for the Usher, £20 (less land tax) for the poor of St. Augustine, £5 per annum for repairs of the school, and 13*s.* 4*d.* for the clerk of the Company (amounting altogether to £71 13*s.* 4*d.*), there remained an unapplied residue of £368 6*s.* 8*d.*; and in the belief that by the terms of the Will they were bound to apply the whole of such residue amongst poor members of the Company, the Master and Wardens created 97 pensions of £4 per annum each, and paid the same as they were able to poor Brethren, but being unable to find a sufficient number of recipients among the poor Brethren, they bestowed the remaining pensions upon poor Widows of Freemen of the Company.

At Christmas, 1847, the rental of the houses increased to £775 per annum, which, after deducting

[2] See Note on page 132.

£71 13*s.* 4*d.*, left £703 6*s.* 8*d.*, and as there was not a sufficient number of poor Brethren to whom to pay this residue in pensions of 20*s.* a quarter a-piece, the Company applied to the Court of Chancery for a new scheme for the schools. At that time (1849) the Company being dissatisfied with him, dismissed the Master of the school, and there was not then any Master, Usher, or even scholar of the school. It was therefore submitted to the Court that it would be greatly for the benefit of the chapelry and neighbourhood, and assist in fulfilling the substantial intentions of John Harrison, if the system of education were enlarged and improved and the school extended, so as to meet the wants of the population of the said chapelry and neighbourhood, for which purpose the Company proposed a scheme for the future management of the school, and for the application of the trust property, which was sanctioned by the Court.

This scheme contemplated the admission of 40 boys on, and 60 boys beyond, the Foundation; the 40 being taught free and the other boys paying 2*s.* 6*d.* per quarter to the Master. The Master's emoluments were raised to £120 and the Usher's to £80, with quarterages divided into two-thirds and one-third, and both were to be members of the Established Church.

The boys admitted were to be above 6 and under 16 years of age, and to be selected for admission and dismissed by the local visitors appointed by the Company. They were to be examined in June and December in each year, by examiners also appointed by the Company.

The Master of the Court of Chancery, to whom the proposal had been referred by the Court, reported approval of the scheme, stating that Great Crosby was an agricultural district, and that the

G·HAYLE· PL.

F. B. ARNES

CEO: LEWIS FB.

G Gallard

WA

Nov 1864

W·H

C W Chapman

W B HADDEN. 1872

IOHN SHAW

G HILTON E CHESTER.

MERCHANT TAYLORS' SCHOOL, GREAT CROSBY.

NAMES INSCRIBED ON STONEWORK OUTSIDE THE OLD SCHOOL HOUSE.

population consisted principally of small farmers and labourers, to whose children an education in grammar and the learned languages alone was comparatively useless, and that the school had gradually diminished in numbers, and there were not then any scholars in the school.

The school worked under this scheme till 1861, when the Company thought fit to limit the boys to 70, of whom 28 only should be taught free, as "Harrison Scholars," and the others should pay a quarterly sum of 25*s.* in advance.

In the year 1866 the gross yearly income of the trust estate rose to £952 10*s.*, and by the renewal of leases gradually increased to the sum of £1820. The balance of receipts over expenditure was carefully husbanded by the Company, until in December, 1872, £3461 stood to the credit of Harrison's Trust Estate; and application having been made to the Charity Commissioners for liberty to purchase a site of 10 acres of land for new school premises, these premises were conveyed to Trustees for the Company, the cost of the land being £3500.

Pending these proceedings, the Endowed Schools' Act (32 and 33 Vic. c. 56) was passed, and the Company made application to the Commissioners appointed by the Crown to carry out its provisions, for a new scheme for the reorganization of the Great Crosby school. Dealing with the income as £1825 (with a fixed charge of £20 13*s.* 4*d.*) the Court of the 26th (upon the Charity Commissioners' recommendation of the 18th) January, 1871, resolved to devote three-fourths[3] of the residue to the schools and one-fourth to pensions, and to carry out this resolution and for the conduct of the schools for the future, a scheme was finally adopted on the 6th August, 1874.

[3] The proportion in 1620 was—out of £121 13*s.* 4*d.* the sum of £55 was payable to the school and £46 13*s.* 4*d.* for pensions.

The general scope of the Trust was declared to be—

(*a*) To supply a liberal and practical education for boys and girls by means of the schools at Great Crosby.

(*b*) To relieve certain poor persons.

The governing body was to be the same as theretofore, viz.: The Master, Wardens, and Court of Assistants of the Merchant Taylors' Company.

The Foundation to consist of two branches—the school branch and the alms branch.

The school branch was to be entitled to the land and buildings, thereto occupied under the Trust, exclusively for the purposes of the school, and to the piece of land at Great Crosby lately contracted to be purchased from Mr. Myers as a site for a school, and to three-fourths of the residue of the other property belonging to the entire foundation, subject to the appropriation of any property of the trust for the purposes of school sites and the payment of all expenses of or incident to the provision or adaptation of buildings as thereinafter provided; the part of the endowment thereby apportioned to the school branch was to be applied, as nearly as might be, three-fifths to the education of boys and two-fifths to the education of girls, and there should be under that trust a school for boys and a school for girls (which was an entirely new feature), to be called "The Merchant Taylors' "Schools of the foundation of John Harrison."

The scheme contained provisions for the alms branch, for raising the funds for the purpose of the scheme, transferring the visitorial jurisdiction to the Crown, abolishing the jurisdiction of the Ordinary, relating to or arising from the licensing of any teacher under the trust, that the religious opinions of the governors should not affect their qualification, providing for the keeping of minutes and accounts and the publication of accounts.

Under part 3, the governors were to appoint a local committee of not less than three nor more than five persons living in the parish of Sefton, to continue for three years, with power of reappointment, to assist them in the supervision of the school.

The school to be a day school only.

As soon as practicable, school buildings suitable for not less than 200 scholars, with a residence for the Head Master, were to be provided on the land purchased. Until completed, the boys' school to be carried on in the old buildings. The governors were empowered to make alterations in the then present school buildings, having regard to the intended use of those buildings for a girls' school; the cost not to exceed £5000 without the consent of the Charity Commissioners.

The Master was not to be required to be in Holy Orders. He was to be a graduate of some university within the British empire.

The governors were to appoint the Head Master after advertisement.

"For urgent cause," the governors, at a special meeting duly convened for the purpose, and affirmed by not less than two-thirds of the whole existing number of governors, could declare the Head Master ought to be dismissed; and in that case, at another special meeting, held not less than a week after the former one, and by a similar resolution, affirmed by as large a proportion of governors, wholly and finally dismiss him. The Head Master to have full notice and opportunity for defence at both meetings.

The Head Master to live in the residence assigned for him, which he was to hold by virtue of his office, but not as tenant. Except with the permission of the governors, he was not to allow any other person to occupy the residence or any part of it.

The Head Master not to have any other employment.

The Masters not to receive other than the authorised fees.

The governors to prescribe the general subjects of instruction, the terms and vacations, and the payments of the scholars. To supervise the sanitary arrangements. To determine what number of Assistant Masters shall be employed, and to pay them, subject to previous consultation with the Head Master.

The Head Master, subject to rules, to have choice of the books, methods of teaching, arrangement of classes and school hours, and generally the whole internal organization, arrangement, and discipline of the school, with an appeal to the governors in case of a proposal to expel a boy.

The Head Master to have the sole power of appointing, and subject to appeal to the governors, of dismissing Assistant Masters.

The Head Master to receive a fixed salary of £200 per annum, and head money at not less than £2 nor more than £4 for each boy, as he may arrange with the governors.

Boys to pay an entrance fee not exceeding £1, and tuition fees not less than £6 nor more than £16 per annum. No difference on account of place of birth or residence. Payments to be made in advance.

Boys not to be admitted before 8, nor remain after 17 years of age.

School to be open to all boys of good character and sufficient health, residing with their parents, guardians, or next friends, or with some person approved by the governors and Head Master.

Register of applications to be kept.

Boys to be subject to an entrance examination.

Examination to be graduated according to the

age of the boy, but never to be below following standard: Reading monosyllabic narrative, writing text hand, easy sums in first two rules of arithmetic, with the multiplication table.

Parents or guardians may claim exemption for scholars from attending prayer or religious worship, or from any lessons or series of lessons on a religious subject, and scholar shall not thereby be deprived of any advantage or emolument to which he would otherwise have been entitled.

The Governors and Head Master to make proper regulations for religious instruction to be given in the school. No alteration to be made therein until the expiration of one year after notice.

The subjects of secular instruction to be:—Reading, writing, arithmetic, mathematics, geography, history, English grammar, composition and literature, Latin, at least one modern European language other than English, natural science, drawing and music. Greek an extra, at not less than £3 a year each boy.

To be an annual examination by examiners appointed by the governors.

Head Master to make annual report to governors.

Harrison scholarships to be given as Exhibitions not exceeding one for every ten boys in average attendance, entitling to free education for such time and such terms as governors think fit.

The governors may also, on recommendation of the Head Master, give further Exhibitions, not exceeding £3 in a year, towards cost of books and stationery, &c.

Governors empowered to establish Scholarships, tenable elsewhere, of the yearly value of not less than £40 or more than £50, to be awarded by open competition among boys who have been scholars for three years previously.

So far the boys.

The next part of the scheme applies to the girls, under which the governors were to appoint a local committee to assist them, either being the same as that appointed for the boys or consisting of others.

When the new building completed for the boys, the old to be adapted for the girls.

The school to be a day school only, under a Head Mistress, independent of the Head Master of the boys' school.

The Head Mistress to receive a fixed stipend of £120 a year, and head money of not less than £2 nor more than £4 yearly for each girl.

Payments for entrance and tuition to be made, as provided for the boys, entrance fee not to exceed £1, and tuition fees not less than £3 nor more than £10 a year.

The governors may allow girls to remain longer than boys.

The subjects of secular instruction to be the same as the boys, but with domestic economy and needlework in addition. Also a course of physical training. Instruction to be according to the classification and arrangements made by the Head Mistress.

Exhibitions and Scholarships for girls after the manner and under the conditions prescribed for the boys.

In the conduct of all examinations of the girls, the governors to be careful to provide that too great publicity or mental strain shall be avoided.

Other provisions for the girls' school to be same as those for boys.

Under part 5, as soon as found available, the governors to place £2000 in Consols to a separate account, entitled "Repairs and Improvements." The income to be applied for that purpose; any balance to be accumulated.

Three-fifths of the income of the school branch

to be used for the boys' school, and governors may provide a pension fund for the Head Master, the main principle being that the Head Master and the Trust fund shall each contribute annually, for 20 years, such sum as may be found necessary, to accumulate at compound interest.

Provision is made for disposing of any surplus as therein mentioned.

The other two-fifths of the income of the school branch is to be applied for the benefit of the girls' school in similar manner.

Then follow provisions for dealing with the then Head Master from the endowments, and reference to the Charity Commissioners to decide doubtful questions and make new schemes.

This scheme has been twice slightly varied, first by an order of the Charity Commissioners, dated 20th May, 1884, enabling the governors to permit boys to remain at school, in special cases, till 18; and again, by a scheme dated 26th April, 1898, ordering a copy of the Examiners' reports to be sent annually to the Charity Commissioners, and enabling them to direct, by order, in any year, how the Examiners are to be appointed, and also enabling the Governors, in special circumstances, to extend the tenure of a Great Crosby Scholarship for an additional year.

Part of the garden belonging to the old school was copyhold of the manor of Great Crosby, but in 1870 this was enfranchised, and the land vested in the official trustee of charity lands.

By an order of the Charity Commissioners dated 20th March, 1874, the Company were authorized to purchase 10 acres of land at the corner of Marsh Lane (now called College Road) and Liverpool Road, Crosby, for £3500, as a site for the new school; and by an order of the 4th August, 1876, the legal site was vested in the official trustee of charity lands.

In 1878, the new buildings being finished, at a cost of £20,574 18*s.* 5*d.*, including laying out the grounds and equipping the buildings, the boys' school was transferred thither. This cost was met by—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Balance and investment of income of the School branch... ... ... ... ... ... | £1,986 | 7 | 5 |
| Accumulation of income during building operations ... ... ... ... ... ... | 4,088 | 11 | 0 |
| By a loan from the Company, at 4 per cent. ... | 5,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Do. do. free of interest ... | 9,500 | 0 | 0 |
| | £20,574 | 17 | 5 |

Of this latter loan, the Company agreed to forego £2,500, and the Charity Commissioners made an order on 17th November, 1891, for the repayment of the balance, £7,000, with interest at 3 per cent., out of the school income, within fifteen years, by annual instalments of £586 7*s.* 4*d.* The scheme originally only authorized the expenditure of £5,000.

The old school buildings were adapted for the girls at a cost of £1,425, and opened for them in 1888, Miss Isabel Bolton being appointed headmistress.

Additional buildings were soon found necessary at both schools, and in October, 1892, the Charity Commissioners authorized the expenditure of not more than £5,400—to be provided, partly by a loan of £5,000, at not more than 3½ per cent. interest, to be repaid within twenty years, and the residue out of the income of the school branch, and a fund was to be provided by twenty annual instalments of £200, to be paid to the official trustees, and by them invested at compound interest. The sum required was borrowed from the Union Assurance Co. The tenders for the work at the boys' school amounted to £3,177, and for the girls' school to £1544.

The endowment of the charity is as follows :—

| Description. | Extent. | Tenant. | Gross yearly income. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *A. r. p.* | | *£ s. d.* |
| The Boys' School and Master's house and lands at Great Crosby .. .. | 10 0 0 | In hand. | .. |
| The Girls' School.. .. .. .. .. | 0 4 ½ | Do. | .. |
| Messuages, known as 33 and 34. Old Change, London .. .. .. .. | .. | H. & M. Stuart, 80 years, to Christmas, 1968 .. | 1,500 0 0 |
| Messuage, known as No. 6 St. Swithun's Lane, London .. .. | .. | J. Hendry, 80 years, to Lady Day, 1945 .. .. | 220 0 0 |
| | | | £1,720 0 0 |

The long leases were executed under orders of the Charity Commissioners, made in 1866. The only outgoing is £57 7*s.*, allowed to the tenants for property tax, which is recovered every three years. Of the net income one-fourth is appropriated to the pension branch of the charity, leaving £1,246 19*s.* 9*d.* for the scholastic purposes of the scheme.

The local committee contemplated by the scheme was formed, and has since been maintained. It consists now of the Bishop of Liverpool, Sir Wm. Bower Forwood, the Rev. Canon Jones, of Waterloo, and the Earl of Derby. Their duties are confined to attending school functions, and making any local investigation, should any be required.

The boys' school is held in a very handsome building of red brick, with a central hall, which, together with the master's house (a detached building, also of red brick), present a very imposing appearance to persons passing by the high road from Waterloo to Crosby. The school building faces south, and comprises a fine hall, class rooms, library, and chemical laboratories, and is very complete in its arrangements.

The girls' school occupies the old buildings of the boys' school, added to, as before stated. The old school is a handsome Elizabethan erection, of two stories, with mullioned windows, and is one of the very rare stone buildings to be found in

the northern outskirts of Liverpool. Before it was obscured by the new buildings, it presented a very handsome appearance to the Crosby Road, but a casual passer-by would not now know what a fine building exists there.

It has the peculiarity that every stone has a mason's mark on it. They are shewn on the drawing. It has also, which is not a peculiarity in school buildings, *boys'* marks on almost every stone within reach, in the shape of the names of former scholars carved thereon.

No fund has been set apart for repairs, which much exceed the sum of £60 a year. Repairs for the boys' school have, on the average of seven years ending 1897, cost £143 per annum, and for the girls, £40.

No apportionment of the income between the two schools has been made, as the scheme directs; but the accounts of both are kept together.

The number of boys in the school averages about 300, and of girls 135.

The fees paid are: for boys under twelve years of age, £12 yearly; above that age, £15. The extra charge for Greek is £4. Each boy pays a fee of 2*s.* 6*d.* for registration of his application for admission, and £1 entrance fee. 2*s.* per term is charged for stationery, and all books are paid for by the scholars. A number of boys dine daily at the school, at a nominal fee. The average age of entrance is slightly over 11½ years, and of leaving is 15¾.

The school is divided into ten classes; and, in the instruction given, modern and commercial subjects predominate.

Special annual prizes were founded for modern languages by the late Earl of Derby; for divinity by Sir James Taylor, then warden of the Company; for mathematics by Mr. O. H. Davis, then master

of the Company; and for English by several members of the court of the Company, the last being called the Windermere prize, on the opening of the new school. Each of the prizes have an endowment of £100. invested in Consols in the names of the trustees of the property of the Company. Sir Moses Montefiore also gave £100, in 1851, to found a prize for classics, which is invested in Consols in the names of the Master and Wardens of the Company.

There is a special scholarship class for those who have passed the Oxford Local Examination, but the Great Crosby scholarship is usually awarded as the result of this examination. It is of the yearly value of £40, and is not awarded if no candidate is equal to a first-class in the Senior Local Examination, and on this ground it has been twice withheld. Except on one occasion, it has always been held in Oxford or Cambridge.

In addition to the Head Master, there are thirteen assistant masters, including the drawing master, who visits the school twice weekly. Nearly all of these are university graduates—several of high distinction—in fact, the range of education is that of the great public schools of England.

The boys' school has had a most successful career under the able guidance of the Rev. Canon Armour, and has taken a very high place amongst the secondary schools—pupils attending from Liverpool in the south, and Southport in the north, besides others from the Cheshire side of the Mersey. Scholars have taken excellent positions in the local examinations, and also numerous scholarships or exhibitions (many at Oxford and Cambridge), representing every one of the main lines of study in the school, viz.: classics, mathematics, natural science, modern languages, modern history, and divinity.

Of the girls' school Miss Isabel Bolton still continues headmistress, and is assisted by six regular assistant mistresses and six visiting masters and mistresses, who attend for some subjects only, including a medical man, who teaches hygiene, ambulance and sick nursing. The school was opened with 20 scholars and now contains 135.

The fees paid by the girls are: by those under twelve, £8; by those over, £10 yearly. Extra per annum charged for solo singing and instrumental music, £6 for a master, and £4 10*s*. for a mistress. 2*s*. per term is charged for school stationery; and the same charges are made for registration and entrance as in the boys' school.

The four highest classes are obliged to choose between German and Latin. Two exhibitions only have been granted under the scheme, of £40 each, and tenable for two years.

The girls' school is so new, it has not yet had time to distinguish itself in the same way as the boys'.

For the view of the western doorway, and for the plate of masons' marks, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. W. F. Price and Mr. W. E. Gregson respectively, to whom I tender my grateful thanks.

# EARLY CHARTERS OF THE KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS, RELATING TO MUCH WOOLTON, NEAR LIVERPOOL.

*By Robert Gladstone, Junior, B.C.L., M.A.*

Read 18th December, 1902.

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SIX of the charters which form the subject of the present paper were discovered by the writer in the muniment room at Aston Hall, near Frodsham, in Cheshire.[1] The other charter is preserved at Arley Hall, also in Cheshire, and is now published for the first time.[2]

The editing of these documents has been a task of considerable difficulty, for, in the first place, there is no adequate history of Woolton,[3] nor even

[1] I am indebted to Mr. John Hargreaves, a member of the Council of this Society, for drawing my attention to the fine charters at Aston Hall. There is a possibility that some of them will be acquired by the British Museum. The thanks of the Society are due to the proprietors of the charters for kindly permitting them to be published.

[2] Its existence was noted, in 1866, by W. Beamont in his catalogue of the Arley charters (4to, Newton, Lancs., p. 32), but he supposed it to refer to Woolston, near Warrington. It was also mentioned in Ormerod's *Cheshire* (see the account of Charter II below).

[3] A very creditable paper on the history of Woolton (considering the sources within his reach) was read by the Rev. R. E. Roberts, curate there, before the Woolton Literary and Debating Society, and was printed in the *Garston Weekly News* for 21 December, 1895, and for 4 January and 11 January, 1896.

of the barony or lordship of Widnes,[4] in which Woolton is situated. Secondly, on careful examination, all the printed lists of the Priors of the English Knights Hospitallers proved to be wholly unreliable, at all events as regards the Priors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[5] And, as the index to the great *Cartulaire général* of the Order[6] is not yet published, that large work had to be searched page by page for evidence of the dates of the English Priors. In addition, the writer has been obliged to make prolonged searches at the British Museum and at the Public Record Office in London.

All these charters relate to Much Woolton, and not to Little Woolton. In proof of this it is necessary to state that Much Woolton was granted to the Hospitallers by John, Constable of Chester and Baron of Halton and Widnes,[7] and that Little Woolton was granted to the Hospitallers by his son Roger in 1203 or 1204.[8] The date of John's

4 Some account of the Barons of Halton and Widnes (but not very satisfactory as regards the earlier portion) will be found in W. Beamont's *Halton, &c.*, 4to, Warrington, 1873.

5 I have prepared a very complete chronological table of the Priors of the English Hospitallers, with facsimiles of their charters and seals, which I hope to publish before long. Almost all the lists in print are mere abstracts of Dr. Matthew Hutton's list, which is printed in Newcourt's *Repertorium* (i, 668, &c.), and which is based upon the thoroughly bad list on the last leaf of Cotton MS. (Brit. Mus.), Nero E. vi. See note 66 below.

6 By M. J. Delaville Le Roulx, 3 vols. and supplement, folio. Paris, 1894, &c. I am sorry to have to say that several of the charters of the Priors of the English Hospitallers are quite wrongly dated in this splendid work. I shall refer to it hereafter as "*Cart. gén.*" A paper by the same author, on the seals of the English Priors, with remarks on their chronology, was published in 1881 in the *Mélanges* of the French School at Rome, with a supplementary note in 1887. This paper is full of serious errors. Nevertheless, I have derived much useful information from both publications.

7 The charters themselves show this. Space will not permit me to discuss here the manner in which the Barons of Halton (near Runcorn) acquired the lordship of Widnes, a point on which some very contradictory opinions are in print

8 Roger's grant of Little Woolton is discussed below.

grant of Much Woolton is not known,[9] but the grant must have occurred before 1185,[10] and in all probability was made about 1178, in which year John founded Stanlaw Abbey.[11] Accordingly it would be fairly safe to say that the grant of Much Woolton was made between 1175 and 1185. John himself died in 1190,[12] and as five of the charters are anterior to that year, it is clear that none of them can relate to Little Woolton. As regards the two remaining charters, the indorsements on them state that they refer to Much Woolton; moreover, they were found tied to some of the earlier charters in an ancient wooden box labelled 'Magna Wollton.'

It is natural to suppose that John the Constable granted the *whole* of Much Woolton to the Hospitallers, though the charters themselves do not say so much.[13] At all events in later times we find that

9 I searched for his grant in vain in the chartularies of the Hospitallers at the British Museum. Very probably it might be found among the records of Yeaveley in Derbyshire, to which (as we shall presently see) Woolton was once attached. Or it may be preserved among the manorial records of Woolton itself, which are said to be in the possession of the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield.

10 See Charter I below.

11 *Whalley Coucher* (Chetham Soc.), p. 5.

12 He certainly was alive on 3 September, 1189 (*Benedictus*, ii, 80), and died at Tyre, apparently in 1190 (see the list of deaths in *Benedictus*, ii, 148, not all of which, however, occurred in 1190, and compare *Hoveden*, iii, 88). His son Roger had apparently succeeded him by about the middle of 1191 (*Benedictus*, ii, 232-3). The date, 11 October, 1190, given for John's death by the *Dictionary of National Biography* (xxxi, 388) is apparently a compound of the impossible date, 11 October, 1183, given in the unreliable *Historia Laceiorum* (*Monasticon*, v, 534), and of the date given by Benedictus and Hoveden. The same work in opposition to the best authority—Whitaker's *Whalley*, 4th ed., i, 240, notes—gives John the surname *de Lacy*.

13 In the *Testa de Nevill* (p. 403) it is stated that the aforesaid John the Constable gave to the Hospitallers *two* carucates of land [at Much Woolton], whereas the true rating of Much Woolton was *three* carucates. This might lead one to imagine that John did not grant the whole of Much Woolton to the Hospitallers, were it not that in the next entry we find the rating [of Little Woolton] erroneously given as *three* carucates instead of *two*. The obvious explanation is that the scribe, by a slip of the pen, has attributed the rating of Much Woolton to Little Woolton, and *vice versa*.

the Hospitallers are sole lords of the manor, though of course with tenants holding under them. In June, 1292, the Hospitallers claimed full manorial rights at Woolton,[14] at which time they were out of possession of Little Woolton.[15] They claimed, among other things, the right of erecting gallows for the execution of criminals, though the jury found that as a matter of fact the Hospitallers had never exercised such a right in any part of Lancashire. Farther, in a list of lands held under the lordship of Widnes about 1320,[16] we find that both Much and Little Woolton belonged completely to the Hospitallers. It would be tedious and indeed unnecessary to mention here the subsequent records declaring the same fact.

A few words regarding Little Woolton will not be out of place here, as in most of the later records Much and Little Woolton are mentioned together. As has been said, Little Woolton was granted to the Hospitallers by Roger,[17] son of John the Constable of Chester. He granted it in 1203 or 1204, when his uncle Robert was Prior of the English Hospitallers.[18] But almost immediately, it would

14 *Placita de quo Warranto*, pp. 375-6, where there is given a very interesting list of the Hospitallers' lands in Lancashire Woolton heads the list.

15 See my remarks on Little Woolton below.

16 Leycester's *Cheshire*, p. 291, where, however, *Wolneton* is printed instead of *Wolueton*. This misprint is repeated in Ormerod's *Cheshire*, 1st ed., i, 523; 2nd ed., i, 708.

17 He assumed the surname *de Lacy* (Whitaker's *Whalley*, 4th ed., i, 240, notes).

18 *Whalley Coucher* (Chetham Soc.), pp. 802 and 811. For farther evidence of their relationship (Robert was a brother of John the Constable) see Leycester's *Cheshire*, p. 237; Whitaker's *Whalley*, 3rd ed., p. 177, note; *Monasticon*, v, 534, col. 1; *ibid.*, vi, 315, col. 2 middle; *ibid.*, v, 647, cols. 1 and 2. As plain Brother Robert FitzRichard (*Frater Robertus filius Ricardi*) the uncle witnesses many charters of the Priors of the English Hospitallers from 1187 onwards. On 30 October, 1202, William de Vilers was Prior (*Lancs. and Chesh. Record Soc.*, xxxix, 17-18), but on 28 April, 1204 (*Rot. Chart. Johan*, p. 134), Robert appears as Prior, under the name "Robertus Thesaurarius," having been already Prior probably for a year or so. As Prior I find him mentioned or granting charters at least twenty times, the latest being 1 January, 1214 (*Rot. Pat. Johan.*, p. 107). On 30 August, 1215, Henry de Arundel was Prior (*ibid.*, p. 153).

seem, a quarrel broke out between them, with the result that Roger turned the Hospitallers out of Little Woolton and gave it to Stanlaw Abbey.[19] This sudden change must have taken place shortly before 11 April, 1205, when King John directed the sheriff of Lancashire to observe certain precautions in dealing with Stanlaw Abbey as tenant of Little Woolton.[20] For more than eighty-five years Stanlaw Abbey continued to hold Little Woolton, but in 1292 the Hospitallers thought it opportune to put forward their claims. Eventually, in June of that year, the Abbot of Stanlaw totally resigned Little Woolton in favour of the Hospitallers,[21] who thenceforth continued to hold it until the final dissolution of the Order in England.

A highly important and interesting report upon all the Hospitallers' lands in England was compiled in 1338[22] for the information of the Order, whose affairs in England at that time were by no means in a satisfactory condition.[23] The report is not so detailed as could be wished, the chief object of the compilers having been to give merely the sources of revenue and the amounts due from each. Consequently only the principal estates are mentioned, and nothing is said of the smaller holdings from which the profits were sent to the managers of the larger holdings, who in their turn transmitted their contributions to the treasury at Clerkenwell. The

19 *Whalley Coucher* (Chetham Soc.), pp. 801-3.

20 *Rot. Pat. Johan.*, p. 52, col. 1, and *Whalley Coucher*, p. 804.

21 *Whalley Coucher*, pp. 809-11, and *Lancs. and Chesh. Record Soc.*, xxxix, 166-7.

22 *Camden Soc.*, vol. lxv. Nichols (*Leicestershire*, iii, part 1, p. 245), mentions another report on the Hospitallers' lands in England, which was made in 1371. This appears never to have been printed.

23 The impoverishment of the Order was no doubt mainly due to their having in early times granted out most of their lands for perpetual fixed rents of a few shillings or pence, which, at the time when the grants were made, no doubt constituted a fair rent, but in course of time, owing to the gradual fall in the value of money, became scarcely worth collecting.

principal estates of the Hospitallers were divided into "preceptories" and *camerae*. At every preceptory a number of members of the Order always resided, their head being called "preceptor." The *camerae*[24] or "chambers" were estates where the Order had merely an agent, who was called "ballivus," "serviens," "custos," or "prepositus."[25] Woolton, or as it is spelled "Wolueton,"[26] is put down in the report of 1338 as a *camera*,[27] indeed it seems never to have been a preceptory, for long before the date of this report we find that Fuke was *serviens* of Woolton, and that Andrew was *prepositus* there – the latter being presumably in this case a species of sub-agent.[28]

The report of 1338 proceeds to state[29] that at Woolton the Hospitallers' estates consisted of a dwelling-house with fifty acres of arable land and five acres of meadow, also of a water-mill and £8 a year from lands granted in perpetuity at fixed rents. The report concludes by saying that everything that the Hospitallers had at Woolton was let on a yearly lease for twenty marks, that is £13 6*s*. 8*d*.

24 Bracton, fo. 79b, "Camera, sive tenementum de quo possit redditus pervenire."

25 I have taken these names from the various *camerae* in the report of 1338. The first two names may certainly be rendered by the words "bailiff" and "serjeant" or "keeper," while perhaps "warden" and "reeve" may be offered as tolerable equivalents for the other two, though, personally, I should prefer "care-taker" and "steward" or "manager," as giving a less exalted idea of the office, and as being words more generally understood.

26 No doubt pronounced *Wolveton*. The etymology of the name is dealt with in Henry Harrison's *Place-Names of the Liverpool District* (1898), p. 74.

27 *Camden Soc.*, lxv, 111.

28 "Fuke tunc serviente de Wlueton, Andrea tunc preposito de Wlue-"ton, Ormo de Wlueton," &c. (Ormerod's *Cheshire*, 1st ed., i, 498, note; 2nd ed., i, 675, note).

29 *Camden Soc.*, lxv, 111. "Camera de Wolueton, in comitatu Lan-"castrie. Sunt ibidem unum mesuagium, l acre terre, v acre prati, "i molendinum aquaticum, et viii*li* annui redditus: et dimittuntur ad "firmam per annum pro xx marcis." In the text I have endeavoured to give the meaning of the original more fully than a bare translation would have done.

An entire paper might easily be written upon this part of the report, but here it must suffice to say that there are good reasons for thinking that the dwelling-house, lands, and water-mill were in Little Woolton,[30] and that the rental of £8 was derived from very small perpetual rents due from the whole of Much and Little Woolton, as well as from scattered lands in Linacre, Hindley, Platt, and probably in many other places, for which Much Woolton was the Hospitallers' centre of administration.[31]

At the time of the report the Hospitallers had apparently no representative at Woolton, for they had handed over all that they possessed there to some person on a yearly lease, in return for a "lump" sum to be paid yearly—presumably to their preceptory at Yeaveley in Derbyshire, to which we shall presently see that Woolton was attached, probably from a very early date.

Besides the six charters dealt with here, there are also at Aston Hall a large number of later charters, rent-rolls, and other documents relating to Woolton, many of which afford interesting and

30 The mill-pool was formed by damming the Childwall brook between Naylor's bridge and Netherley bridge (compare *Whalley Coucher*, p. 806). In the tithe-map of 1849 (at Childwall Church) some fields just below Naylor's bridge are called "the Dam Fields." In the Ordnance Survey map issued in 1849 a house on Wood Lane (near the present *Woodlands'* lodge) is called "Peck Mill House." The adjoining names, "Mill Farm," "Mill Brook," "Mill Bridge," &c., must, I think, relate to another mill close by in Tarbock. For some farther particulars regarding the later history of the Little Woolton water-mill, see the *Transactions* of this Society (1896), pp. 71 sqq. The charter of Alan de Lydiate, however, which is cited there (p. 72), does not refer to Woolton at all (see *Transactions*, 1879-80, vol. xxxii, pp 183-4). There was a wind-mill at Much Woolton at least as early as 1316 (Woolton Charters, F. 57, 58, 63, at Rydal, Westmorland), which apparently did not belong to the Hospitallers.

31 I have found several certificates of heirs being admitted to lands at Linacre and Hindley before the Halmot Court of Much Woolton (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch., 17716; Moore Charters, at Liverpool Public Library, Lot 298, Nos. 651, 152, &c.). There is also proof that lands at Platt were held under Much Woolton (*Chetham Soc.*, xlvii, 14, note). Indeed, I am inclined to think that the Halmot Court at Much Woolton was the head court for most of the possessions of the Hospitallers in South Lancashire.

important material for local history.[32] It would, however, occupy too much space to attempt to give even a summary account of these documents here, and so, after describing as shortly as possible the end of the connection of the Hospitallers with Woolton, we will pass on to the charters themselves.

The Hospitallers appear to have made a regular practice of leasing all their rights at Woolton, for we find that on 22 Nov., 1537, the Prior had leased Much and Little Woolton to James Anderton for twenty-nine years at an annual rent of £25.[33] Three years later, however, that is to say in 1540, the Order of the Hospitallers in England was dissolved by the Statute 32 Henry VIII, c. 24, and its estates were confiscated.[34] Apparently Woolton, along with many other estates, was restored temporarily to the Hospitallers during the reign of Mary, by virtue of a royal charter dated 2 April, 1558.[35] In 1559, however, the Hospitallers' lands in England were finally confiscated by the Statute 1 Elizabeth, c. 24.[36] From this time Woolton belonged to the Crown until 22 May, 1609, when James I disposed

32 I understand that Mr. W. Farrer, a member of this Society, has examined all these Woolton documents.

33 Public Record Office, Ministers' Accounts, 38 Hen. VIII—1 Ed. VI, Lancs., No. 33, membr. 21 dors., under *Yeaveley*. [The original lease by Sir William Weston, Prior, to James Anderton of Euxton, has lately been discovered among the Aston Hall charters. On 6 April, 1549, James Anderton assigned the remainder of the lease to Sir William Norres of Speke. Among the same charters there has also been found a lease by the *locum tenens* of the Prior, dated 4 June, 1421, granting Much and Little Woolton and the pertinent lands between Ribble and Mersey—part of the preceptory of Yeaveley—to Sir Henry Norys for ten years, at a yearly rent of 38 marks (£25 6*s*. 8*d*.). Mr. J. Brownbill kindly sent me the news of these discoveries.]

34 *Statutes of the Realm*, iii, 778-81. Royal assent on 24 July, 1540 (*Lords' Journals*, i, 162).

35 See Palmer's MS. Index to the Patent Rolls (*Record Office*) Hen. VIII—Car. II, vol. 10, K. (Phil. and Mar.) 5. The *Monasticon* (vi, 811-12) prints the charter from *Rot. Pat.*, 4 and 5 Phil. and Mar., part 14, but omits the list of lands restored.

36 *Stats. of Realm*, iv, part i, 397-400. Royal assent on 8 May, 1559 (*Lords' Journals*, i, 577-9).

of it, along with many other estates in almost every county in England, in part-payment of a large sum of money which had been lent to him by a body of London merchants.[37] In this grant Woolton is described in a Latin clause, of which the following is a free translation :—"All our lordship or manor "of Much and Little Woolton, with all its rights, "members, liberties, and pertinents whatsoever, in "our county of Lancaster aforesaid, consisting "specifically of an annual rental or value of "£25 17*s.* 10*d.*, besides 6*s.* 8*d.* payable for the mill "there, and all our houses, lands, tenements and "hereditaments, in our county of Lancaster afore-"said, known by the name of 'the lordship or "manor of Much and Little Woolton,' in our "county of Lancaster aforesaid, being part of the "lands and possessions of the former preceptory "of Iveley *alias* Steade which once existed in our "county of Derby."[38]

After this, the manorial rights of Much and Little Woolton passed through various hands, until in 1726 we find that Isaac Green, the Liverpool attorney, possessed them.[39] By reason of descent from Isaac Green's daughter Mary, the manorial rights of Much and Little Woolton are now vested in the Marquis of Salisbury.[40]

37 *Patent Roll* (Record Office) 7 James I, part 16. The grantees were George Salter and John Williams, of London. They were not among the lenders of the money to the King, and why the grant was made to them in particular is not stated; perhaps they were assignees of the lenders' rights.

38 It seems hardly necessary to give the Latin text. "Iveley" is, of course, Yeaveley. I have found the name spelled in a surprising variety of ways. The preceptory of Yeaveley was granted in 1543 (subject to a lease which had some years to run) to Charles, Lord Mountjoy (*Cal. of State Papers of Hen. VIII*, 1543, pp. 236-7). For subsequent proprietors, see Lysons's *Magna Britannia*, v, 255.

39 *Chetham Soc.*, xlvii, 14, note.

40 See Appendix C. Isaac Green apparently purchased the manoria rights of West Derby, Everton, Wavertree, Childwall, and Much and Little Woolton, and was also lord of the manor of Hale in right of his wife. It is somewhat surprising that so important a character in local history has not been made the subject of paper.

## CHARTER I.

Original at Aston Hall, Frodsham, Cheshire.

*(Translation.)*[41]

[About 1180 A.D.] Know all men, as well present as to come, that I, Ralph de Dive,[42] Prior of the Bretheren of the Hospital of Jerusalem in England, with the assent and counsel of the bretheren of our entire chapter, have given and granted, and by the present charter have confirmed, to Ralph Cook and his heirs, two bovates[43] of land in Wolveton,[44] which we have by the gift and alms of John, Constable of Chester; to hold of our house by hereditary right, freely and quit of all service thence belonging to us; rendering thence annually to our house four shillings at Michaelmas; provided that at his death the third part of his chattels shall remain for our house.[45] Witnesses:—Brother William of St. Cross, Brother Alan, Brother Lanselin, priests; Brother Owen, Brother Walter de Malton, Brother Richard Furmentin, and many others.[46]

This charter is a great curiosity, as it is undoubtedly a forgery made about 1270. But the contents seem clearly genuine, judging by the witnesses' names, the style of the charter, and general probabilities. Most likely the forgery was made

41 On the whole I have thought it best to give a translation, though I hardly expect to please everyone, especially in the matter of proper names, in which I have not had much experience. Those who wish for the Latin text will probably be able to read it for themselves in the facsimiles.

42 "Rad. de Diua" in the original. For some remarks on the family of *Dive* or *Dyve*, see Baker's *Northamptonshire*, i, 160, 246, &c.

43 The *bovate* or *oxgang* is usually reckoned to be an eighth part of the *carucate* or *ploughland*, which consisted of so much land as could be kept in cultivation by one plough. It therefore varied according to the nature of the ground, and cannot be satisfactorily expressed in acres. The *bovate* is supposed to be so called from the plough-team having consisted of eight oxen, and it therefore represented the work of one ox. (Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, 1st ed., i, 347.)

44 "Wolueton" in the original.

45 See Appendix B for a discussion on this clause.

46 The words—"Malton, fre. Ricardo Furmentino et multis aliis"—are concealed by the fold in the parchment. Without going into particulars concerning the witnesses (which would be a large undertaking), it may be noted that the forger of the charter has written *Furmentino* instead of *Frumentino*; compare Harl. Ch. (Brit. Mus.), 44 H., 53, printed in *Cart. gén.*, i, 210-11, and in Nichols's *Leicestershire*, iii, part 2, 832-3.

No. 1
(ORIGINAL SIZE)

CHARTER OF PRIOR RALPH DE DIVE
(FORGERY)

No. 1
(ORIGINAL SIZE)

CHARTER OF PRIOR RALPH DE DIVE
(FORGERY)

from an authentic copy of a lost original, the place of which it was intended to supply. The style of the writing is that of about 1270—rather after than before. The seal, which is of green wax, and very thick and clumsy, is a bad imitation of a seal which was not in use until long after Prior Ralph de Dive's time, namely, the seal attached to Charters VI and VII below. The seal actually used by Prior Ralph was the same as that attached to Charter V below, and examples of its being used by Prior Ralph will be found attached to a charter in the Public Record Office[47] and to another in the British Museum.[48] The inscription on the forged seal appears to be—S' R[ADVLP]HIFI DE DIVA. The letters FI seem to be a slip on the part of the fabricator of the seal, being presumably a repetition of the last syllable of *Radulphi* in a different spelling. Indorsed on the charter are the words—"Originall. Wolton Magna. Bury his land. 4*s*."[49]

As to the period of the priorship of Ralph de Dive, the writer knows of no reason why he should not have been Prior in 1170. There is an undated grant by him to Jordan, chamberlain to Richard de Lucy.[50] Now Richard de Lucy died on 14 July, 1179,[51] and if (as we are entitled to assume) he was alive when the grant was made, Ralph de Dive must have been Prior before that date. In 1179 he is definitely named as Prior of the English Hospitallers.[52] Five undated documents mention him as

47 Ancient Deeds, L. 320.

48 Harl. Ch., 44 H., 53.

49 Later deeds contained in the same box showed that, about the year 1545, these lands belonged to Ralph Bury of Roby Hall (compare the *Calendar of Duchy Pleadings*, i, 268, and see Appendix A below).

50 Cotton. MS. (Brit. Mus.), Nero E, vi, fo. 322b.

51 *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, xxxiv, 247.

52 He witnesses a Belgian charter in that year, printed in Reiffenberg's *Chevalier au Cygne* (4to, Brussels, 1846), pp. 425-6, forming part of the *Collection des Chroniques belges*, &c.

Prior, and two documents, certainly of the periods 1181-2[53] and 1182-3,[54] give him the same position.

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## CHARTER II.

### Original at Arley Hall, Cheshire.

*(Translation.)*

[1187 A.D.][55] Be it known to all the faithful of Holy Mother Church, both present and to come, to whom the present writing may shew itself, that I, Garnerius de Neapoli,[56] Prior of the Bretheren of the Hospital of Jerusalem in England, with the common assent and united wish of the bretheren of our entire chapter, have given and granted, and by this present charter have confirmed, to Adam de Dutton and his heirs, the entire half of the whole of the town of Werburton,[57] with all the pertinents and liberties belonging to the said town, which we have by the permission of John, Constable of Chester, out of his fee, for the salvation of him and his, and for the souls of all his ancestors; also, in addition, two bovates of land in the town of Wlveton,[58] and twelve 'lands'[59] called 'the Ofnames'[60] in the same town; also one salt-pit in Nortwich[61] with all the

53 See the charter by Gilbert, Bishop of London, in Cotton. MS. (Brit. Mus.), Nero E, vi, fo. 218, confirming charters on fo. 204 and fo. 218 (dated 1181).

54 See the charter of Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, in Cotton. MS. (Brit Mus.), Nero E, vi, fo. 262, referring to Prior Ralph's charter in Harl. MS. (Brit Mus.), 662, fo. 69, col. 1.

55 This charter is mentioned in W. Beamont's catalogue of the Arley Charters (4to, Newton, Lancs., 1866, p. 32), but he supposed it to refer to Woolston, near Warrington. He describes (p. xxxviii) a seal then attached to the charter, which was evidently the same as the reverse of the seal attached to Charter V below Nothing now remains of the seal except a few specks of reddish wax. There is also a short and inaccurate abstract of this charter in Ormerod's *Cheshire* (1st ed., i, 427, note; made rather worse in 2nd ed., i, 568, note).

56 "Garn. de Neapl." in the original.

57 Warburton in Cheshire. John, Constable of Chester, had given Adam de Dutton permission to grant this half of Warburton to the Hospitallers (Leycester's *Cheshire*, p. 385), from whom he now receives a fresh grant (See Ormerod's *Cheshire*, 1st ed., i, 426; 2nd ed., i, 567-8).

58 "Wlueton" in the original. Evidently at this time people had not abandoned the idea that "w" was a vowel (as *double u* should be), as in Welsh still.

59 "Londas" in the original. See Murray's *Dictionary*, under *Land*, § 7, where the passages cited are interesting, but by no means consistent with one another.

60 I can find no modern name at all resembling this.

61 Northwich, in Cheshire.

CHARTER OF PRIOR GARNERIUS DE NEAPOLI. 1187 A.D.

No. 2
(ORIGINAL SIZE)

CHARTER OF PRIOR GARNERIUS DE NEAPOLI. 1187 A.D.

pertinents, that is to say, the one which we have by the gift and alms of Eudo de Boidere, and all other lands which the said Adam shall be able to acquire; to hold to him and his heirs of our house, in fee and inheritance, freely, peacefully and quietly;[62] rendering thence annually by himself and his heirs to our house seven shillings on the feast of St. Bartholomew for all secular service and all demands; provided that at the deaths of himself and his heirs, instead of his and their third part [of his and their chattels] two marks of silver shall remain for our house. Witnesses:—Brother Alan, Brother Matthew, Brother Philip, chaplains; Brother Hugh de Clahyll, Brother Robert FitzRichard,[63] Brother Robert de Valencins, Brother Robert de Leirgc[ester], Brother Alexander de Leirgc[ester], Angod the clerk. A.D. MCLXXXVII

Warner of Nablus, otherwise *Garnerius de Neapoli*, was not an Italian (as several learned writers have supposed),[64] but was named from Nablus (Neapolis in Samaria. On his funeral monument he is called "Garnerius Sirianus."[65] In the unreliable lists of the Priors of the English Hospitallers he is always placed first.[66] As a matter of fact the earliest date at which he is found to be Prior is 10 April, 1185.[67] He may have been Prior in 1184, but certainly no earlier.[68] The writer has collected a considerable quantity of information regarding

62 The meaning is given at length in Charter I.

63 Regarding him see my remarks on Little Woolton and note 18 above.

64 See for example Kemble's Introduction to *Camden Soc.*, lxv., p. lxvii, and Historical MSS. Commission, *9th Report*, Part 1, App. p. 32, No. 291.

65 Vicomte de Villeneuve-Bargemont, *Monumens des Grands Maîtres*, (1829), vol. i, p. xi and facing p. 47.

66 The reason of his being placed first is that he established a house of female Hospitallers at Minchin Buckland in Somersetshire (see Thomas Hugo's *History of Mynchin Buckland*, 1861), and the nuns there naturally placed him first on the list of Priors to be prayed for, and afterwards added a few wild guesses at the date when they supposed him to have lived. A copy of the Buckland list is written on the last leaf of the Cotton. MS. (Brit. Mus. Nero E, vi, and is the basis of all the printed lists. See note 5 above.

67 Harl Ch. (Brit. Mus.) 43 I, 38 This splendid charter has recently been printed and reproduced in the "Facsimiles of Royal and other Charters," (Brit. Mus., folio, 1903, No. 67 and plate xliii). The text has also been printed in Nichols's *Collectanea* (1836), iii, 174-7, and in the *Cart gén.* i, 480-2.

68 See my commentary on Charter I above.

him, having ascertained the situation of no less than fourteen original charters granted by him between the years 1185 and 1190 (both inclusive), besides many copies of his charters in chartularies and notices of him in chronicles and elsewhere.[69] Warner became Grand Master of the entire Order in the latter part of the year 1190.[70] During 1191 he is several times mentioned as Grand Master by good authorities, and also in 1192 as far as the month of June.[71] In January, 1193, Geoffrey de Donjon had succeeded Warner as Grand Master.[72]

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## CHARTER III.

Original at Aston Hall, Frodsham, Cheshire.

*(Translation.)*

[1187 A.D.] Be it known to all, as well present as to come, that I, Garnerius de Neapoli,[73] Prior of the Bretheren of the Hospital of Jerusalem in England, with the common assent and wish of the bretheren of our chapter, have granted, and by the present charter have confirmed, to Gilbert Cook and his heirs, one bovate of land in Wulveton,[74] namely, one of those two [bovates] which Hugh Beaupeinne used to hold, with all its pertinents; to hold and to have of our house, freely, quietly and honourably; rendering thence every year to our house twelve pence, half at Easter and half at Michaelmas, for all service thence belonging to us; provided that at his death, and at the deaths of his heirs likewise, the third part of his and their chattels, which shall be on the aforesaid land, shall remain

69 There is the less reason for going into his history here in detail, as Mr. J. Horace Round has written an excellent paper upon the subject, which will appear in the next volume of the *Archæologia*, of which paper the proof-sheets were most kindly shown to me.

70 During 1190 he issued four charters as Prior of the English Hospitallers, namely, *Record Office*, A. 9990; *Cart. gén.*, iv, Suppl, 268; *Chetham Soc.*, xlvii, App 189-90; *Proceedings of Soc. of Antiquaries*, N.S., v, 445-8. He is mentioned as Grand Master of the entire Order on 6 Dec., 1190, (J. H. Round's *Calendar of Documents in France*, i, 15).

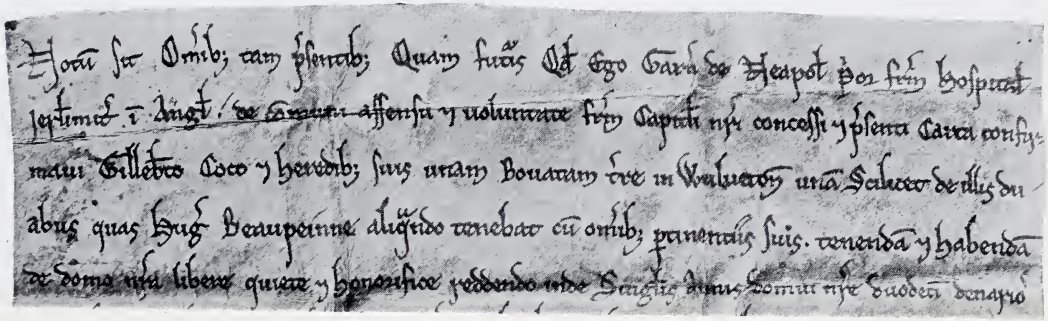
71 January, 1192 (*Cart. gén.*, under date); Feb. 1192 (*Ibid.*, under date); June, 1192 (*Memorials of Richard I* (Rolls Series), i, 371).

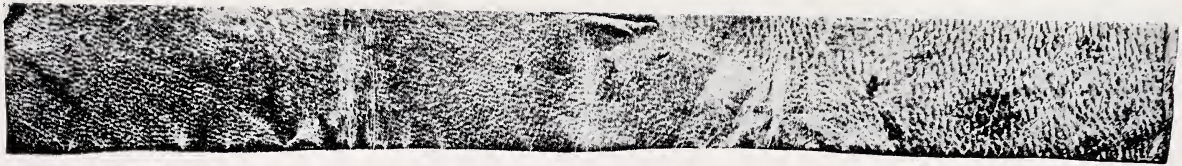
72 *Cart. gén.*, i, 595.

73 "Garn. de Neapol," in the original.

74 "Wulueton," in the original.

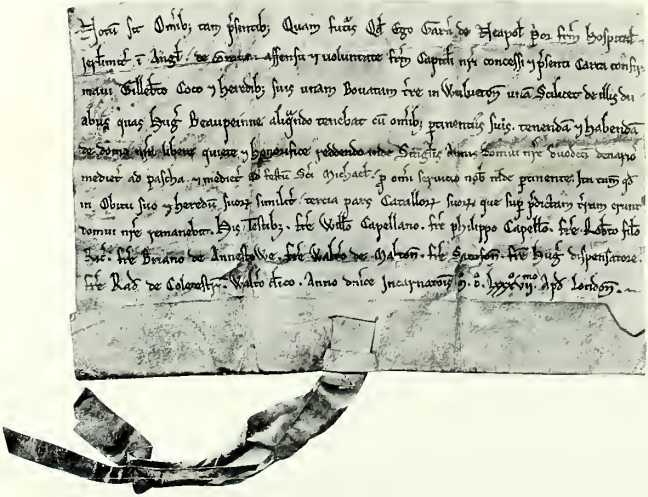
No. 3
(ORIGINAL SIZE)



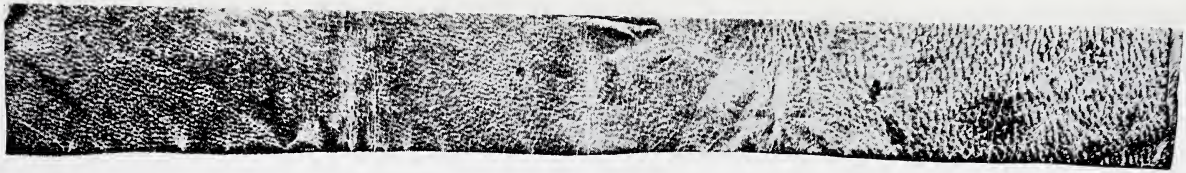


CHARTER OF PRIOR GARNERIUS DE NEAPOLI. 1188 A.D.

No. 3
(ORIGINAL SIZE)



CHARTER OF PRIOR GARNERIUS DE NEAPOLI. 1187 A.D.



CHARTER OF PRIOR GARNERIUS DE NEAPOLI. 1188 A.D.

for our house. Witnesses:—Brother William, chaplain; Brother Philip, chaplain; Brother Robert FitzRichard, Brother Brian de Annestowe, Brother Walter de Malton, Brother Samson, Brother Hugh Dispenser, Brother Ralph of Colchester, Walter the clerk.[75] A.D. MCLXXXVII. At London.[76]

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## CHARTER IV.

Original at Aston Hall, Frodsham, Cheshire.

*(Translation.)*

[1188 A.D.] Be it known to all the children of Holy Mother Church, as well present as to come, that I, Garnerius de Neapoli, Prior of the Bretheren of the Hospital of Jerusalem in England, with the common assent and wish of the bretheren of our chapter, have granted, and by the present charter have confirmed, to Orm son of the widow[77] of Wlvinton[78] and his heirs, one bovate of land, with all its pertinents, which we have by the gift of John, Constable of Chester; to hold and to have of our house, by hereditary right, freely and quietly; rendering thence every year to our house two shillings at Michaelmas, for all service thence belonging to us; provided that at his death, and at the deaths of his heirs likewise, the third part of his and their chattels, which shall be on the aforesaid land, shall remain for our house. Witnesses:—Brother Alan, Brother Matthew, Brother Philip, chaplains;[79] Brother Robert FitzRichard, Brother Hugh de Claihull, Brother Robert de Valecins,[80] Brother Henry de Dalby, Brother Robert de Leicester, Walter and Angod the clerks.[81] A.D. MCLXXXVIII.[82]

75 In a fine charter by Garnerius, dated 1190, and in the same handwriting as this, we find the clerk described as "Walter of Hereford, our clerk." (St. Paul's Charters, A. 28, No. 291, printed (from the original) in *Cart. gén.*, iv, Suppl. 268, also (from the Register, without the witnesses) in Newcourt's *Repertorium*, i, 809-10. The original is somewhat damaged, but a perfect copy (including the witnesses) will be found in Cotton. MS., Nero E, vi, fo. 139. I am indebted to Mr. J. Horace Round for a photograph of this charter, and to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope for a cast of the seal.)

76 Indorsement—"1187. 34 H. 2. xii*d*. For Bury his land in Magna Wolton."

77 I suspect that "filio vidue" should be rendered in English "Widdowson," a name still known in the district.

78 "Wluinton" in the original. This is very like the spelling *Uluentune* in Domesday Book.

79 The word should clearly be plural; compare Charter II.

80 "Valencins" in Charter II.

81 The writing is Angod's; compare Charter II.

82 Indorsement—"Carta originalis. Socage. 2*s*. rent."

## CHARTER V.

Original at Aston Hall, Frodsham, Cheshire.

*(Translation.)*

[1189 A.D.] Be it known to all, as well present as to come, that I, Garnerius de Neapoli, Prior of the Bretheren of the Hospital of Jerusalem in England, with the common assent and wish of the bretheren of our chapter, have granted, and by the present charter have confirmed, to Andrew de Wulveton and his heirs, one bovate of land in Wulveton, which we have by the gift of John, Constable of Chester; to hold and to have of our house, by hereditary right, freely and quietly; rendering thence every year to our house twelve pence at the Nativity of Blessed Mary, for all service thence belonging to us; provided that at his death, and at the deaths of his heirs likewise, the third part of his and their chattels shall remain for our house. Witnesses:—Brother Alan, Brother Matthew, Brother Hilary, Brother Robert FitzRichard, Brother Henry Noel, Brother Hugh de Clahull, Brother Nicholas de Cartmel, Brother Samson, Walter the clerk. A.D. MCLXXX nine.[83]

The seal is made of a white waxy paste, covered with a reddish-brown varnish. The design on the front or *obverse*, represents a male figure kneeling before a patriarchal cross, that is a cross with two cross-bars, the upper bar being shorter than the lower. On each side of the upright post of the cross there is distributed an inscription which from other specimens of the seal is known to be—SALVE CRUX SANCTA ARBOR DIGNA.[84] The inscription or *legend* round the edge, which is quite worn away here, should be—SIGILL' PRIORIS FRATRVM HOSPITAL' [IERL'] IN ANGLIA.[85] This seal was also used by the

[83] Indorsement—"Thos. fil. Walt. fil. Thos. xii*d.* Bury, his lond in Myche Wolton."

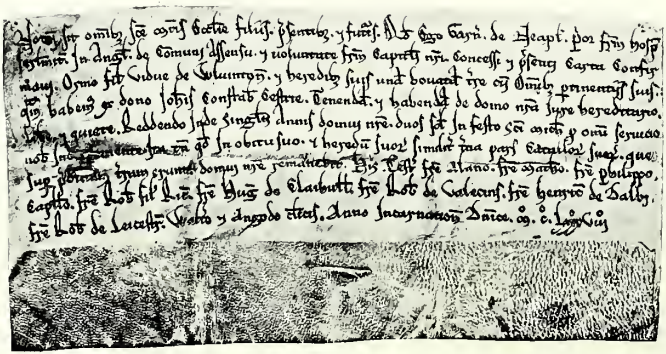
[84] The word *sancta* is contracted into *sca*, and in several of the other words contiguous letters are *ligatures*, *i.e.*, run into one another. The inscription is best seen in the seal of the St. Paul's charter mentioned in note 75 above.

[85] This legend is best seen in the seals attached to the charter mentioned in note 67, and to the St. Paul's charter just referred to. In the legend several of the letters are ligatures, and in the word *fratrum* the ATR forms a monogram. The face of the kneeling figure is best seen in the seal of a charter at the Record Office (A. 6708), it being turned almost full-face towards the spectator, and not towards the cross, as might have been expected. The plate in the *Mélanges* (see note 6 above) somehow gives a totally incorrect representation of the angle at which the face is turned.

No. 5.

CHARTER OF PRIOR GARNERIUS DE NEAPOLI. 1189 A.D.

No. 4
(ORIGINAL SIZE)



CHARTER OF PRIOR GARNERIUS DE NEAPOLI 1188 A.D.

predecessor of Garnerius, namely Prior Ralph de Dive,[86] as well as by Garnerius's successor, Alan.[87] On the back or *reverse* of the seal is the *secretum* or private seal of Garnerius. The head is presumably that of St. John the Baptist,[88] and the legend is—S' GARN' PRIORIS HOSP' IER' IN ANGL'. This impression of the private seal of Garnerius is quite as good as any that the writer has seen, but there is lacking here a deep indentation in the wax above the seal, which was caused by the loop by which (like a locket) the metal seal itself was hung to a chain.[89]

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## CHARTER VI.

Original at Aston Hall, Frodsham, Cheshire.

*(Translation.)*

[About 1220 A.D.] To all the children of Holy Mother Church to whom the present writing may come, Brother Hugh

86 See notes 47 and 48 above.

87 At all events at the commencement of his period of office. See Add. Ch. (Brit. Mus.) 7208, and Cotton Ch. (Brit. Mus.), vii, 5 The latter charter is wrongly dated 1199 by the scribe; this can be proved with certainty, but this is scarcely a suitable place for such proof. Still, it may be barely stated that Alan became Bishop of Bangor on 16 April, 1195, and that he died in 1196, and that he was succeeded as Prior by Gilbert de Vere (1195), and that in 1199 William de Vilers was Prior. The correct date of the charter, beyond all reasonable doubt, is 1190. In each of the above instances Alan also uses the *private* seal of Garnerius, a fact which is worthy of attention.

88 Prior Ricardus Turcus (*circ* 1165-70) made use of a head of St. John the Baptist as his private seal, namely, a small head in profile (an ancient gem reset) with the legend—CAPVD IOHIS. BAPTISTE, (Add. Ch. 21643), which is absurdly misread as CAPVT TVVM CHRISTE, in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Seals*, i, 855, No. 4530. The reason of the connection of the Hospitallers with St John the Baptist is not very evident, but it is a well ascertained fact. For example, a common clause in grants to the Hospitallers is—"Deo et Sancte Marie et Sancto Johanni Baptiste et beatis pauperibus sancte domus Hospitalis, &c." Their church at Clerkenwell was also dedicated to St. John the Baptist on 6 March, 1185-6 (Cotton. MS, Nero E, vi, fo. 3). See also note 102 below.

89 I have seen altogether six impressions of the private seal of Garnerius, of which the one shewing best the indentation caused by the loop is that belonging to a charter dated 1190, which is in the possession of R. H. Wood, Esq, F S A., &c., a member of this Society. The seal has unfortunately become detached from the charter, the text of which was printed in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd series, v, 445-8.

Danet,[90] the humble Prior in England of the Bretheren of the Hospital of Jerusalem, [wisheth] salvation[91] in the Lord. Know ye, one and all, that we, with the common counsel of the bretheren of our chapter, have granted, and by our present charter have confirmed, to Fulk de Wlvetun, one bovate of land with all its pertinents in Wlvetun, namely that bovate of land on which the buildings of the same Fulk are constructed, and which bovate Fulk himself held before; to hold and to have of our house, to him and his heirs, freely and quietly; rendering thence yearly to our house, for all service thence belonging to us, twelve pence sterling[92] at Michaelmas; and at his death, and at the deaths of all his heirs likewise, the entire third part of his and their chattels shall remain completely[93] for our house. Witnesses :—Brother William de Kerebroc, Brother Richard de Rundfougerey,[94] Brother Osbert de Eston, chaplains; Brother William Briton, Brother Otto de Builly, Brother Ralph de Grindham, Brother Eustace Deacon, Brother Gregory de Bocland, Brother Ralph de Seggrave, Brother William de Camera, and many others.[95]

Hugh Danet, otherwise *Hugo de Alneto*, became Prior in 1216, but after 5 April, 1216, when Henry de Arundel was still Prior.[96] The latest date at which the writer has found Danet to be Prior is 1221,[97] though it is likely that his period of office continued for a year or two longer. However, on

90 "Hugo de Alneto," in the original. For the family of Danet see Marshall's *Genealogist's Guide* (1893) p. 175. *Alnetum* means an aldergrove.

91 I suppose that this is what the scribe meant. In such a formula as—"salutem in Domino sempiternam," the word *salutem* can hardly mean merely *health*. To use such words as *greeting* or *salutation* is simply to beg the question of the meaning of *salutem*.

92 "Duodecim denarios sterlingorum." An adequate explanation of these words would require several pages, in fact a short history of British coinage.

93 "Quieta," that is, quit or clear of all other charges. Compare note 62 above.

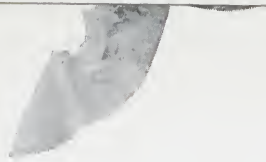
94 "Ricardo de Rotundo Fugereto." I have found the surname of this man spelled in several different ways. In the next charter it is given as *Rundfougerey*, which no doubt is what he was called. *Fugeretum* is low Latin for a *fern-plot* (Modern French *fougeraie*).

95 Indorsement "Myche Wolton. For Bury his land. xii*d*."

96 *Rot Pat. Johan.*, p. 174. Danet is Prior on 3 Sept., 1216 (*ibid.*, p. 195.

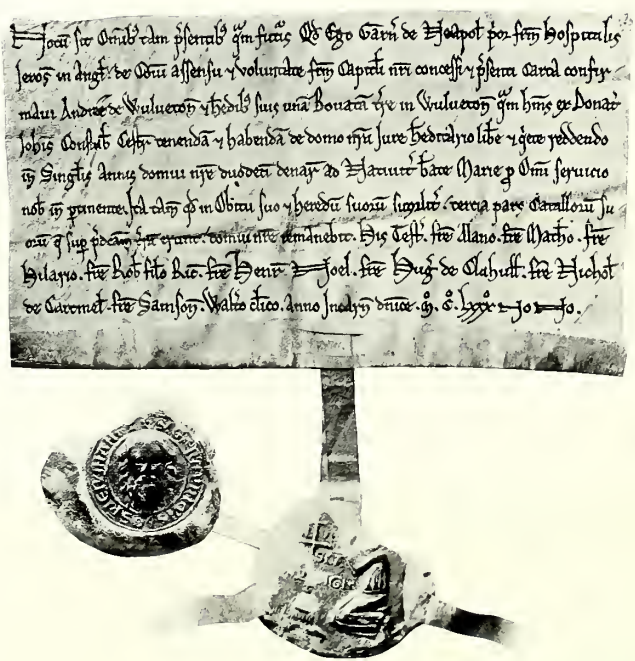
97 *Cart. gén.*, ii, 279-80, also Cotton MS. (Brit. Mus.), Nero E, vi, fo. 87b.

NO. 6
(ORIGINAL SIZE)



CHARTER OF PRIOR HUGH DANET
(ABOUT 1220 A.D.)

No. 5
(ORIGINAL SIZE)



CHARTER OF PRIOR GARNERIUS DE NEAPOLI. 1189 A.D.

13 October, 1223, Robert de Dive is found to be Prior.[98]

Original charters by Prior Danet seem to be very uncommon, only two (besides the present charter) being known to the writer. One of these is in the British Museum,[99] and the other is in France.[100] The charter in the British Museum is in the same handwriting as the present charter, and the seal is the same (back and front) as the present example, but is somewhat less damaged. The impression on the front of the present seal (which is of green wax) deserves special notice, for it represents the common seal of the Order which was used probably from about the year 1200[101] until the dissolution of the Order in England in 1540. The head in the centre is undoubtedly that of St. John the Baptist,[102] on the right of which appears a small sun, and on the left (broken off here) a crescent moon.[103] The border of dots may be intended to represent stars. The legend, when perfect, is—S' PRIORIS HOSPITAL' IERL' IN ANGL'.[104] The main design of the seal seems to have been copied from the private seal of

98 See the notes to the next charter.

99 Harl. Ch. (Brit. Mus.) 83 A 33, dated 1216, text printed in *Cart. gén.* ii, 180-1.

100 *Cart. gén.* ii, 279-80, dated 1221. There are a few copies of Danet's charters in chartularies, &c , which it is not necessary to mention here.

101 Mr. J Horace Round informs me that he has found this seal attached to an undated charter by Prior Robertus Thesaurarius (*circ* 1204-14, see note 18 above), among the muniments of the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir This is the earliest example that I have heard of, the next being these seals of Prior Danet. I have found a considerable number of later specimens of the seal, a good example being reproduced by M. Delaville Le Roulx in his plate in the *Mélanges* (see note 6 above).

102 The seal is thus described by a notary-public on 4 June, 1377 :— "Rotundum sigillum commune . . prioris et confratrum in cera viridi, "in cujus quidem sigilli circumferencia scripta erant ista verba, 'Sigillum "Prioris Hospitalis Jerosolimitani'; in medio vero sigilli sculptum erat "quasi capud sancti Johannis Baptiste, longos crines et barbam prolixam "habens." (Cotton. MS., Nero E, vi, fo. 275).

103 The sun and moon are clearly seen in the seal attached to Charter VII.

104 The "T" in HOSPITAL is, I think, intended to be a monogram with the "I", possibly with the "A".

Prior Garnerius, of which a specimen is attached to Charter V. The impression on the back of the present seal is that of the private seal of Prior Danet. When perfect the legend is—S' FRATRIS HVGONIS DE ALN—ETO. According to Dr. Birch the figure represents St. John the Baptist;[105] but M. Delaville Le Roulx thinks that it is intended to represent the Good Shepherd.[106] Dr. Birch proceeds to say that the figure holds in its right hand an *Agnus Dei* on a plaque, and in its left a palm-branch.

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## CHARTER VII.

Original at Aston Hall, Frodsham, Cheshire.

*(Translation.)*

[About 1230 A.D.] To all the faithful of Christ to whom the present writing may come, Brother Robert de Dive,[107] the humble Prior of the Bretheren of the Hospital of Jerusalem in England, [wisheth] salvation in the Lord. Know ye, one and all, that we, with the common assent of the bretheren of our chapter, have granted, and by our present charter have confirmed, to Thomas de Wulveton, one bovate of land in Wulveton, which we have by the gift of Henry de Waleton, and which the same Henry formerly held of us; to hold and to have of our house, to him and his heirs, freely [and] quietly; rendering thence yearly to our house two shillings on the feast of St. Bartholomew, for all service due to us in respect thereof; provided that at his death, and at the deaths of all his heirs likewise, the entire third part of his and their chattels shall remain completely for our house. Witnesses:—Brother Richard de Rundfougerey,[108] Brother William de Chaliwell, Brother Walter de Oxan., chaplains; Brother Ralph de Grindham. Brother William Escrop, knights; Brother Manass. de Winchelse, Brother Gilbert de Gouteby, Brother William de Camera and others.[109]

Prior Robert de Dive was probably related to

105 *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Seals*, i, 855-6, No. 4531.

106 *Mélanges*, p. 379.

107 "Robertus de Diua" in the original.

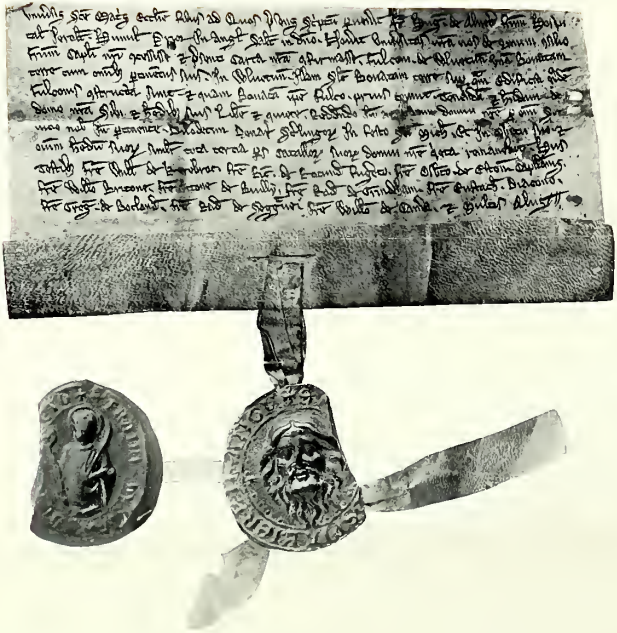
108 See note 94 above.

109 Indorsement—"Mych Wolton. For Bury his londe. 2s."

No. 7
(ORIGINAL SIZE)

CHARTER OF PRIOR ROBERT DE DIVE
(ABOUT 1230 A.D.)

NO. 6
(ORIGINAL SIZE)



CHARTER OF PRIOR HUGH DANET
(ABOUT 1220 A.D.)

Prior Ralph de Dive who is noticed above in connection with Charter I. The earliest date at which the writer has found him to be Prior is 13 October, 1223,[110] and the latest 7 March, 1233-4.[111] There appears to be no original charter by him in the British Museum, but there is one in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (with seal),[112] and another at the Public Record Office.[113] So it would appear that charters by Prior Robert de Dive are rare.

The seal is of green wax, and the impression upon the front of it is the same as in the case of the seal of the preceding charter, but the sun and moon on either side of the head are clearly visible here. The impression upon the back is the private seal of Prior Robert, the legend being—SIGILL' FRIS. ROBERTI DE DIVE. The centre is occupied by the well-known device of the *lamb and flag*, the flag or banner being surmounted by a patriarchal cross. The precise nature of the surrounding circle is not evident, but it is possible that it is intended to represent a serpent with its tail in its mouth, a common symbol for eternity, as being without beginning or end.

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## Appendix A.

As regards the identification of the lands dealt with in these charters, the writer can offer no assistance in the case of Charter II, which is at Arley Hall. But with reference to the rest of the charters, it may be useful to state that Charters I, III, V, VI, and VII. were tied together with one other deed

110 Final concord of that date in Cotton. MS. (Brit. Mus.), Nero E, vi, fo. 84b.

111 Bridges's *Northamptonshire*, i, 536.

112 Undated. See W. H. Turner's *Calendar of Charters, &c.*, p. 275.

113 Ancient Deeds, A. 2416, undated, with a fragment of the seal. I need not mention copies of Prior Robert's charters in chartularies, &c., though there are not many of them.

(dated 4 Nov., 1350), the indorsement on which stated that they related to lands at Much Woolton belonging (about 1545) to Ralph Bury of Roby Hall.[114] Charter IV was tied up with four other deeds (two dated 13 Dec., 1392, another 12 Oct., 1396, and another 16 Oct., 1396) which showed that at the end of the fourteenth century the lands mentioned in them belonged to William Colle. There are only very slight indications of locality in these deeds. Other deeds in the same box showed that on 20 April, 1556, Sir William Norris of Speke acquired Bury's lands from George Robertson of Wolfall, who had married Ralph Bury's daughter Margaret.[115] Probably all these lands formed part of a settlement when Thomas Norris of Speke married (about 1690) Margaret, second daughter of Sir Willoughby Aston of Aston Hall.[116]

## Appendix B.

The reservation of a third of the tenant's chattels at his death, which is almost invariably found in the charters of the Hospitallers, is a somewhat remarkable provision.[117] It is interesting to observe the verbal alterations in the clause of reservation which were made from time to time, obviously for the purpose of preventing evasions of it. The *third part* in question undoubtedly corresponds to the *third part* of the chattels which, by the old law of England, a testator was able to bequeath,

114 See note 49 above.

115 Strictly speaking, Sir William had only to deal with George Robertson's life-interest, having previously purchased the rights of the other persons interested under Ralph Bury's settlement.

116 Gregson's *Fragments*, 3rd ed., p. 200. *Aston* misprinted *Ashton*.

117 For some examples of the same sort of thing see Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. Eng. Law*, 1st ed., ii, 322-3. To these may be added a charter by the Abbot of Burton in 1133, which has this clause—"Et in fine vite "sue, si uxorem habuerit aut heredem, debet recipi in ecclesia et hon-"orifice sepeliri cum parte sua de pecunia sua; et si mortuus fuerit absque "herede vel uxore, omnino cum tota substantia sua." *Facsimiles of Charters in Brit. Mus.* (1903), No. 13.

the remaining two-thirds being assigned by law to his wife and children.[118] Thus the Hospitallers took all the chattels of which the normal testator (who had a wife and children) was free to dispose. This exaction of the Hospitallers was called an "obit," as appears from a passage in the Cockersand Chartulary[119] and from a rental of Woolton (1453-4) preserved at Aston Hall. A tendency to change the uncertain *obit* into a fixed sum appears at an early date,[120] and we learn from the above rental that seven of the Woolton tenants had made a composition with the Hospitallers by which their rent was doubled at each death instead of an *obit*. On 10 Sept., 1593, the lawfulness of these obits was recognised by inquest.[121] What became of them afterwards at Woolton does not appear to be known, but most probably they were all eventually converted into double rents on death, as explained above. Now the rents in question were perpetual fixed rents of a few shillings at most, and in course of time, owing to the unceasing decrease in the value of money, they became scarcely worth the expense of collection. Early in the eighteenth century they were certainly being extinguished in return for "lump" sums,[122] though when George Perry was collecting materials for his history of the Liverpool district, the lord of the manor of Woolton was still receiving trifling amounts under the name of

118 See Pollock & Maitland, ii, 346-53, and compare the words "pro sua tertia parte" in Charter II above.

119 "Nomine obitus" (*Chetham Soc.*, 1898, p. 167).

120 For an example see Charter II above. I have found several other instances in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

121 *Chetham Soc.*, xlvii, 221-2, where however *terrarum* is misprinted for *tertiam*.

122 On 20 March, 1726, Isaac Green (see note 40 above), in return for a "lump" sum of £6, extinguished a Hospitallers' rent of 4*s*. annually from the lands of Platt (near Manchester), which was due to him as lord of the manor of Much Woolton. (*Chetham Soc.*, xlvii, 14 note). In 1308 John Brandwood paid £1 to Bamber Gascoyne, as lord of Much Woolton, for 20 years' rent in Entwisle known as St. John of Jerusalem rent (V.C.H. Lancs. V, 284).

"St. John of Jerusalem's rents."[123] At the present day, however, no such rents are known to be paid by any of the proprietors of estates at Woolton.

## Appendix C.

The descent of the Marquis of Salisbury from Mary, daughter of Isaac Green,[124] seems to be correctly stated nowhere. It is as follows :—

Mary Green, younger daughter of the said Isaac Green, was married to Bamber Gascoyne, M.P., grandson of Dr. John Bamber, a wealthy London physician, and eldest son of Sir Crisp Gascoyne, Lord Mayor of London.[125] He died in September, 1791,[126] leaving four sons, of whom the eldest—

Bamber Gascoyne, M.P. (No. 2), married on 24 July, 1794, Sarah, daughter of Chase Price, M.P. for Radnorshire.[127] He died on 16 Jan., 1824, and she on 11 July, 1820.[128] Their only child—

Frances Mary Gascoyne was married on 2 Feb., 1821, to James, 2nd Marquis of Salisbury. She died on 15 October, 1839, and he married a second wife.[129]

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123 Enfield's *History of Leverpool* (1st ed., 1773), 2nd ed., pp. 114-15. Perry died on 3 Feb., 1771. (Smithers's *Liverpool*, p. 420).

124 See note 40 above. Portraits of Isaac Green and of his two daughters are at Hale Hall ("Hale Hall," *priv. pr.* Liverpool, 1881, pp. 40-1). He died on 5 July, 1749, aged 71 (Gregson's *Fragments*, 3rd ed., p. 212).

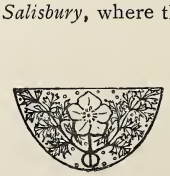
125 *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, xxi, 48, and Gregson, *loc. cit.*

126 The date given by Gregson for his death, namely, 8 May, 1799, is certainly wrong, and is very possibly the date of the death of his wife Mary. See the obituary notice of Bamber Gascoyne in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1791, p. 1066. Gregson's error is copied in Syers's *Everton*, p. 35.

127 Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 5th ed., p. 1125, and *Gent. Mag.* for 1824, p. 184, where, however, *Chase* is misprinted *Charles*. Mr. J. Brownbill informs me that he has seen her name given as *Sarah Bridget Frances* in either a fine or a recovery of the year 1799.

128 Syers's *Everton*, p. 35, and *Gent. Mag.* for 1824, p. 184.

129 Burke's *Peerage* under *Salisbury*, where the remainder of the descent will be found.



# Communications.

## THE RIBCHESTER "TEMPLE."

NINETY-TWO years ago, in July, 1811, a Roman inscription was discovered at Ribchester, which, though fragmentary and in part obscure, provides evidence that early in the third century of our era a high Roman military official, acting at the orders of the governor of the province, restored and dedicated a temple—*templum a solo*, *ex re*[*s*]*ponsu* [*numinis* or the like, *re*]*stituit et dedicavit.* The circumstances of the find are thus recorded by a contemporary writer, T. D. Whitaker, in his *History of Whalley* (third edition, 1818, p. 17) :—

In the month of July, 1811, some workmen, employed to stop the encroachments of the Ribble almost opposite to the parish church of Ribchester, at the depth of about a yard beneath the present surface met with the foundation of two parallel walls, lying nearly north and south, at the distance of about twenty-four yards from each other, and very strongly cemented The south side appears to have been carried away by the river, that on the north remained for the present unexplored. Among the rubbish were five human skulls, and a corresponding quantity of other bones, all of which had been disturbed before. At the same time and place was discovered a very curious stylus or bodkin, of hard yellow stone. Within the walls was an ordinary flagged floor; and near the south end lay the remains of a large flat stone, which the workmen inadvertently broke into many pieces before they discovered that the lower surface contained an inscription The fragments being carefully collected and put together, exhibited the following appearance. . . .

In his *History of Richmondshire* (ii, 459, ed. 1823), he describes the discovery more briefly :—

> In July, 1811, some workmen, in securing the bank from the depredations of the Ribble, at a distance of 40 or 50 yards beneath [the place where the helmet was discovered in 1796], observed several fragments of flagstone, each containing Roman characters ; and when all the pieces were put together like a dissected map, they produced this fine but very difficult and still mutilated inscription . . .

The position of these remains cannot now be determined with minute precision, but it appears to have been near, and probably inside, the southeast face of the Roman fort, and about halfway along it. The inscription was obviously not found *in situ*. Turned face downwards, it apparently formed part of a flagged floor between two walls. Whether these walls and floor were Roman or later work, is, of course, impossible now to decide. It is not unreasonable to conjecture that they were Roman. The fort at Ribchester appears to have been occupied, in some form or other, till late in the fourth century, and it is credible that there, as elsewhere, an inscribed slab was used up in building or rebuilding. So at Chesters, six or seven years ago, a memorial slab was found, face downwards, serving as a step in a room of the fort, and at Great Chesters, about the same time, seven inscriptions—two dedications, two gravestones, and three fragments—were discovered to have been used as building material for the walls and flooring of a building in the fort. Parallels, indeed, abound, and it is needless to cite more instances. But it should be noted, as a fact bearing on the age of the Ribchester walls, that they are described as "lying nearly north and "south." The ramparts and buildings of the fort, on the contrary, lie northeast and southwest. It is most unusual, in a normal Roman fort, to meet with structures (other than drains) which run obliquely

to the general lines of the place, and if the points of the compass were read correctly in 1811, it would seem as if the walls were not Roman.

Various attempts have been made to locate the temple mentioned in the inscription, and to connect it with architectural remains found at Ribchester. Whitaker, combining the remains found in 1811 with others found soon after, situated nearer the centre of the fort, devised the plan of an edifice measuring 45 feet deep, 112 feet long, and adorned with 16 columns in front.[1] Recently Mr. J. Garstang has suggested in these *Transactions* a different idea. He connects his temple with remains situate wholly in the inner part of the fort and distinct from the walls found in 1811, and sketches the plan of a "Prostyle" temple, 50 feet deep and 25 feet along its facade. I do not think either Dr. Whitaker's or Mr. Garstang's attempt can be regarded as at all successful.

In the first place, the two writers named and (so far as I know) all who have treated the subject, plant the temple inside the walls of the fort. But temples have no business in Roman forts. A Roman fort is a definite thing, planned on a fixed scheme. The nature of that scheme is well enough known from numerous excavations of forts erected and occupied in the first two and a-half centuries of our era, and I need not here explain it. But it is important to realize that the scheme is fixed—so fixed, indeed, that a visitor standing over the ruins of one fort, with the plan of another in his hands or head, can prophecy with some accuracy the buildings likely to be found in the various parts of the fort before him. And this scheme does not include a temple. No trace of one has ever been

[1] Baines, *Hist. Lancashire*, iii, 380; Baines and Fairbairne, *Lancashire, Past and Present*, i, 274.

found in any excavation of the interior of a fort.[2] Indeed, the associations and accompaniments of an ancient temple suit ill with the general character of a Roman fort. This was purely military: all alien elements, such as women and traders, were rigidly excluded, and allowed only to settle without the gates. We should not be surprised to find a temple outside the gates, and indeed temples have been discovered in such situations. Inside the gates we should neither expect to find a temple, nor have any ever been discovered there. It is therefore contrary to all our knowledge of Roman military arrangements either to look for the Ribchester temple within the walls of the fort, or to explain architectural remains found within the fort as the remains of a temple.

Moreover, these architectural remains do not, of themselves, demand any such explanation. They are few and fragmentary and imperfectly recorded, and perhaps admit of no definite interpretation. Certainly, if it had not been for the inscription, it would never have occurred to anyone to consider them parts of a temple. If any conjecture might be hazarded about them, it is that they belong, at least in part, to the so-called "Prætorium"—the central building which seems to form the headquarters of each fort. Their chief elements—columns and steps—are elements which meet us in the architectural features of the "Prætoria" excavated in various forts. They seem to have been found near the centre of the fort; it is at any rate not impossible that they may belong to the "Prætorium" of Ribchester.

Where, then, was the "Templum" mentioned in the inscription as having been repaired and

[2] The temples sometimes alleged to have stood within the walls of Chester (Tite, *Archæologia*, xl, 285), Reculver, Richborough, etc., are all devoid of authority, and rest only on misconceptions,

consecrated early in the third century? We could answer this question better if we had before us the whole inscription, instead of only its latter part, and if we knew the name of the deity or deities to whom the temple was dedicated. But one obvious possibility is before us. The temple may have stood without the walls of the fort, and the dedicatory inscription may have been torn from it to serve as a flagstone when the building was erected in which the inscription was actually found. Numerous instances might be cited of inscribed stones being thus treated by the Romans themselves, and two have been already cited in this article. If this be so, if the temple at Ribchester stood without the walls of the fort, we shall, of course, resign all attempt to re-construct it.

There is another possibility. The "prætorium" normally contained a room where the "colours" were kept in a sort of shrine, and where the official worship of the army was conducted. It was not the kind of place which would naturally be styled *templum*. But it seems once or twice to be denoted by this appellation (C. iii, 5565; Brambach, 467), and it is at least conceivable that it might be so called in the case before us. Then we should reach the conclusion that there was no temple, properly so called, at Ribchester, and we should continue to reject the re-constructions suggested by previous writers for it. But this is a very rare and also an irregular appellation: it belongs to a later date than that of the Ribchester inscription, and its few instances are none of them wholly certain. We should be rash to do more than include it among the possibilities of the case.

Probably we shall never know for certain the site of the Ribchester temple. But something will be gained if it be recognised in future research that

both our knowledge of Roman forts and our knowledge of the Ribchester remains, point in a direction wholly different from the re-constructions hitherto brought forward.

I may add a further caution. In 1796 a finely-decorated helmet with face-mask was found at Ribchester, with other bronze objects, all plainly buried together on purpose, and more probably buried for concealment than (as Benndorf conjectures) as a sepulchral deposit. This helmet has often been connected with the temple, and explained as part of a statue, and identified variously as representing Minerva, or Isis, or Mars, or Victory. It is difficult to accept any such view. The helmet appears to be an independent object, not the head of a statue, and it cannot be easily interpreted as belonging to any of the deities named. Other similar helmets with face-masks are known to have been studied by various scholars—Donner von Richter, Benndorf, Albert Müller and others—and though their exact use or uses are still a little doubtful, they seem definitely unconnected with statues and temples. Some of them are sepulchral death-masks: some perhaps are ornamental: none belong to statues or deities.

F. Haverfield.

Oxford.

# THE HEMANS' MEMORIAL TABLET.

THE Memorial Tablets Sub-Committee experienced considerable difficulty in accurately identifying the house in Duke Street in which Mrs. Felicia D. Hemans was born.

As Hon. Secretary of the Sub-Committee, I collected information which satisfied the members of the Society that the house now No. 118, Duke Street, was the birthplace of the poetess, and a tablet was placed thereon in January, 1899. The identification of this house was not challenged until November, 1902, when a letter appeared in the *Liverpool Daily Post*, in which the writer (Mr. John Hughes) tried to prove that Mrs. Hemans could not have been born in the house the Historic Society had placed a tablet on. The reply to that letter satisfied Mr. John Hughes that he was wrong, and that the birthplace of Mrs. Hemans had been correctly identified for the Historic Society.

The Sub-Committee have kindly authorized the reprinting of this correspondence, as it contains information (notably the extract from Mr. R. W. Bourne's letter) which did not appear in my pamphlet on the *Liverpool Homes of Mrs. Hemans.*

So many houses in Duke Street have been referred to as the birthplace of Mrs. Hemans, that it is desirable to place on record all evidence which will assist in the accurate identification of a house of such great local interest.

GEORGE T. SHAW,

*Hon. Secretary Memorial Tablets Sub-Committee of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.*

## THE BIRTHPLACE OF MRS. HEMANS.

The actual house in which Mrs. Hemans was born has been the source of much speculation among our local historians and antiquaries. Recently, however, the matter seemed to have been finally set at rest. Mr. Shaw, the able librarian of the Liverpool Athenæum, contributed a paper to the proceedings of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, wherein he demonstrated the identity of the present No. 118, Duke Street with the No. 72, at which George Browne, the father of Felicia Dorothea Hemans, undoubtedly lived in 1790 and onwards. Also the above Society has caused a tablet to be placed on the named house. But recent investigations in this period, on a totally different matter, brought into light certain facts, which have caused me to put the question thus: "George Browne undoubtedly lived at the present 118, Duke "Street; but was Mrs. Hemans born there?" My answer is in the negative. Previously to Mr. Shaw's paper, Liverpool inquirers had their choice of two houses which local historians had given as the place of the birth of the poetess.

Mr. James Stonehouse, writing, in 1863, in *Recollections of Old Liverpool*, gives the house as the "third house from "Colquitt Street."

Mr. James A. Picton (afterwards Sir James), in *Memorials of Liverpool*, gives the place "a few doors below the Newsroom, "in a modest-looking dwelling, formerly numbered 32." The Newsroom was at the corner of Slater Street, and is now converted into the offices of Messrs. Walker.

Now, the difficulty of the case arises from the mercantile crash of 1793, which fell alike on every part of England. Liverpool suffered; and it will be in the recollection of all that this was the historic occasion on which Liverpool, in its corporate capacity, issued promissory notes against the security of the corporate estate for the benefit of its mercantile community. One effect of this crash was that the interval between the issuing of the local directories was longer than usual, none being issued between 1790 and 1796. Another effect was the bankruptcy of the bank of Charles Caldwell & Co., with the incidental (but for the purposes of this inquiry important) failure of one of their clients, Messrs. Browne & Brown, of whom the senior was the father of Mrs Hemans. Caldwell's bankruptcy is gazetted on 8th April, and Browne & Brown's on 22nd April, 1793. The matter was immediately taken in hand by the assignees of the respective estates; and in a very short while the furniture, &c., of the private homes was offered for sale by public auction. In George Browne's

case there were two sales: one of the ordinary household goods, some of which were doubtless bought by friends to enable the dispossessed family to exist; the other, in July, of the "remaining furniture, &c., of Geo. Browne, plate, wine, "paintings, and prints: the above collection will prove as "curious as it is valuable." I give the quotation as throwing a side-light on the possible source of Mrs. Heman's artistic temperament. Early in September, 1793, the dwelling-house in Duke Street, and two warehouses (six storeys high), in Henry Street, were sold; and George Browne was without home or furniture, save a possible remnant.

Now, as Picton notes, the date of Mrs. Hemans's birth is given in the memoir to her works as 25th September, 1793, but according to the *Memorials* of H. F. Chorley, the birth was in the succeeding year. And to this agrees the tablet to her memory in St. Asaph Cathedral—"Felicia Hemans, died "May 16, 1835, aged forty-one" For these reasons it is not probable that Mrs. Hemans was born at the present 118, Duke Street, and I consider the Historic Society should revise its decision. But which of the two remaining possibles is the house? Stonehouse's statement, "the third house from Col-"quitt Street," is somewhat enigmatic, as it is quite possible to go in opposite directions to "the third house." He states that he had the pleasure of the acquaintance of Miss Browne, but obviously it was not, nor does he state it was, at this house. He also gives as an identification of the house the fact of one of the remaining trees of "The Lady's Walk" being in the garden of the house next door, and of its being apostrophised by Mrs. Hemans in one of her earlier poems. But this would apply equally to the house named by Picton, inasmuch as the "Lady's Walk" extended from opposite York Street to Berry Street.

Picton's reference (see *ante*) is somewhat vague, "formerly "numbered 32." I will endeavour to make it intelligible. The numbering of the street at this time was very erratic. It grieved the careful soul of good John Gore, to whom we inquirers of a later day are so much indebted, and on the title-page of the directories of this period he liberated his soul thus:—"With the numbers as they are (or ought to be) affixed "to their houses." The method of numbering was this:—The numbers commenced on the left-hand side of the street, and continued consecutively to the top, and then turned down on the other side. Hence in a complete street the first number and the last faced each other. In the case of a complete street this was all right. But when the entire length of a street had not been built on, the gradual filling up of the vacant spaces seriously disturbed any previously attempted numbering of the

houses. Thus it rarely happens that the numbers of any street about this period are in agreement in consecutive directories. I take it, then, that Picton's phrase, "formerly numbered 32," refers to the period when the street had been built up.

This phrase also, "a few doors below the Newsroom," is anachronistic, for when the event took place which we are anxious to localise the Union Newsrooms had not been built. In Gore's map for 1796 (in the Binn's collection) there is a vacant spot where, later on (1800-1), the Newsrooms were built. But with this help we can fix on the house which Picton indicates.

After weary wading through the directories of 1790 and 1796 (unfortunately, the cross reference system to names under the respective streets did not come in till much later), I have managed to construct a list of the residents in the indicated part of Duke Street. I present here a few of them; also, for comparison, similar lists for the years 1803 and 1807. In the latter year the street had, so to speak, steadied itself in the way of numbering:—

1790.

| Street No. | Name. |
|---|---|
| 25 | Eliz. Wallbank. |
| 26 | Robt. Eccles. |
| 27 | Edw. Murray. |
| 28 | Rowland Blount. |
| | Vacant lot. |

1796.

| Street No. | Name. |
|---|---|
| 27 | Eliz. Wallbank. |
| 28 | —— |
| 29 | Edward Murray. |
| 30 | Rowland Blount. |
| | Vacant lot. |

1803.

| Street No. | Name. |
|---|---|
| 34 | Eliz. Wallbank. |
| 35 | Isabella Lee. |
| 36 | Edward Murray. |
| 37 | Edward Blount. |
| 38 | Union Rooms. |

1807.

| Street No. | Name. |
|---|---|
| 31 | Eliz. Wallbank. |
| 32 | Ann Lee. |
| 33 | Edward Murray. |
| 34 | Walter Blount. |
| 35 | Union Rooms. |

Now these tables present a most striking corroboration of Picton's statement. The continuity of tenancy in several cases gives excellent testimony as to the exact locale of the required house.

Whatever the source of Picton's information may be, it is shown above that the house which he names was untenanted in 1796. Now we know from all sources that Geo. Browne continued to live in Duke Street after his dispossession from No. 72. The probabilities are that he had gone to reside in the smaller house indicated by Picton, and which he vacated before 1796, when he was resident in Bold Street.

The conclusion of the whole matter, in my opinion, is that the present No. 118 has been shown to be impossible; the

statement of Stonehouse to be very debatable; and that the balance of probability lies in favour of the house named by Sir James Picton. JOHN HUGHES.

[There is, we believe, in the possession of a Liverpool lady a collection of letters, from an aunt of Mrs. Heman's, written in the year of the poetess's birth, which, if studied by any competent person, would finally settle the question of the number and the date.—ED. *D. P.*]

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE "DAILY POST."

Sir,—The article which appeared in your issue of Monday last on "The Birthplace of Mrs. Hemans," by Mr. John Hughes, is interesting, but not convincing.

Before repeating the evidence which induced the Historic Society to place a tablet on the house now numbered 118, Duke Street, permit me to examine the statements made by your correspondent.

1. Mr. Hughes states that there were no local directories published between 1790 and 1796. There was a directory published in 1794, but not by J. Gore. A copy of it is in this library.

2. Mr. Hughes states that Mrs. Hemans's father was the senior partner in the firm of Browne & Brown. Has your correspondent any evidence to support that statement? There were two merchants in Liverpool at that time named George Browne. This matter does not affect the point at issue, but it rather illustrates the way Mr. Hughes appears to jump to conclusions.

3. Mr. Hughes states—"Now we know from all sources "that George Browne continued to live in Duke Street after "his dispossession from No. 72" (now No. 118). Do we? I have never seen the slightest evidence to justify such a statement. Different houses in Duke Street have been indicated as the birthplace of the poetess, but that does not imply that her father lived in them all.

4. The tit-bit of the article is the way the writer deals with Picton's statement that Mrs. Hemans was born "a few doors "below the Newsroom [Slater Street], in a modest-looking "dwelling, formerly numbered 32." It is here that Mr. Hughes is most interesting and least convincing. After describing the lack of system in the numbering of the houses, your correspondent states: "I take it, then, that "Picton's phrase, 'formerly numbered 32,' refers to the period "when the street had been built up" (say 1807). I contend that Mr. Hughes is not justified in so understanding Sir James Picton's statement. That statement does not bear the

slightest sign of personal investigation on the part of our local historian. If he had taken the trouble to find out the number of the house in 1807, he would have indicated more definitely its number in 1873 (the year the *Memorials of Liverpool* were published). When dealing with other residents in the same street (*e.g.*, Richard Kent and John Sparling) Picton definitely indicated their houses.

If we grant that Mr Hughes's interpretation of Picton's statement is the correct one, we are supposed to arrive at the following extraordinary conclusion, viz., that the fact that a house which was numbered 32 in 1807 was unoccupied in 1796, is evidence that Mrs Hemans was born there in 1793-4.

There is not a scrap of evidence to show that George Browne ever occupied "a house a few doors below the Newsroom" (Slater Street). When Browne removed from the house now numbered 118, Duke Street, it was taken by Cornelius Bourne, and that gentleman's name appeared as the occupier in the directory for 1794. Browne's name did not appear in the directory for 1794, and if he had been a householder at that time, it is only reasonable to suppose that it would have been inserted.

Is Mr. Hughes quite sure that the house "formerly num-"bered 32" was unoccupied in 1796? It was not unusual for addresses to be given in the early directories as "Duke "Street," without any numbers attached. It therefore follows that, unless Mr. Hughes has satisfactorily placed every householder so described, he cannot with certainty say that No. 28 was unoccupied in 1796. It is a rather curious coincidence that a house which was numbered 32, Duke Street, in 1796, and 28 in 1794, was occupied in those years by a James Brown. Is it not probable that Picton's informant made a mistake?

It is well to remember that this controversy is not a new one. It dates back to 1835, the year of the death of Mrs. Hemans. In considering the evidence which follows readers will do well to bear in mind that two sisters of Mrs. Hemans's mother resided in the neighbourhood of Duke Street down to the year 1852.

The obituary notice of the poetess which appeared in the *Athenæum*, contained the following statement:—"Felicia Doro-"thea Browne was born in Liverpool, in a small, quaint-looking "house in St. Anne Street" In the *Liverpool Mercury*, of June 5th, 1835 (probably the week following the notice in the *Athenæum*), appeared the following correction, unsigned, but preceded by an interesting editorial paragraph, which I quote: "[It appears from the following communication, from a very "respectable and well-known gentleman in this town, that the "statement in the *Athenæum*, relative to Mrs. Hemans, is in "some respects erroneous—Ed.]: Mrs. Hemans was the

"grand-daughter of Benedict P. Wagner, to whom I served "my apprenticeship, under the firm of Fahrer & Wagner. . . "Mr. Fahrer retired from business, and I became subsequently "the partner of Mr. Wagner. . . Mr. Wagner had four "sons and three daughters, all born at his house in Wolsten-"holme Square (with the garden at the back fronting Duke "Street), and where his two surviving daughters, Miss Eliza "and Miss Anne, still reside. Miss Wagner (Felicia Dorothea) "married Mr. George Browne, of Cork, . . and resided in "a house in the upper end of Duke Street, where, I believe, "Mrs. Hemans and his other children were born." I may here remark that a house below Slater Street cannot be described as being at "the upper end of Duke Street."

This correction appears to have had an effect on the writer of the obituary notice of Mrs. Hemans which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1835, as it is there stated that "Felicia Dorothea Browne was born at Liverpool, in the "house now occupied by Mr. Molineux, in Duke Street." The house Mr. Molineux resided in, in July, 1835, is the one that now bears the Historic Society's tablet, and is numbered 118, Duke Street.

As I have stated above, the gentleman who took the house in Duke Street when Mr. George Browne vacated it was named Cornelius Bourne. That Mr. Bourne's grandson (Mr. Robert W. Bourne) is now residing in Sussex, and is a member of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society. When he received the volume of the Society's *Transactions* containing my paper on "The Liverpool Homes of Mrs. "Hemans," he wrote a letter, from which I quote the following paragraph: "Mr. Shaw is quite correct as to the house in "Duke Street, which has often been pointed out to me by my "father. Mrs. Hemans was born at the time when her father "changed his house, which was taken by Mr. C. Bourne. "Most of the furniture had been removed, but her mother was "so ill that she could not be moved, and a bed was made up "for her in the dining-room for a considerable time, to the "very great inconvenience of my grandfather This story "was often told to me years ago, and I have no doubt that it "is reliable." Mr. R. W. Bourne's statement is the link that completes the chain of evidence in support of the house now numbered 118. To identify the house in which Mr. Browne resided in Duke Street was difficult enough, but to prove that he was residing in it when the poetess was born was rendered more difficult by the dispute about the date of her birth. The circumstances disclosed in Mr. Bourne's letter were hardly likely to occur to anyone trying to identify the house, nor would they have been accepted if put forward as a matter of speculation.

I am sorry to trouble you at such length, but, in the interest of the Historic Society, it is necessary to show that in placing tablets on houses they are guided by reliable information. I only hope that I have satisfied Mr. Hughes that he has made a mistake in concluding "that the present No. 118 has been "shown to be impossible."—Yours, &c.,

GEO. T. SHAW,
*Hon. Sec. of the Memorial Tablets Sub-Committee of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.*

ATHENÆUM,
LIVERPOOL, Nov. 12, 1902.

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE "DAILY POST."

Sir,—Mr. George T. Shaw's comments of the 12th inst. on my article call for a reply and some admissions. I cheerfully admit that I did not know of the existence of a directory for 1794, though it is mentioned in Mr. Shaw's paper read before the Historic Society. A copy of it is not in the William Brown Street Library, nor in the Lyceum; nor have I ever been offered one by the local booksellers for my own little collection. I regret I have not access to the Athenæum Library. Mr. Shaw's next criticism is an unintentional compliment. By careful research and collation of facts I have indubitably established the identity of the father of Mrs. Hemans with the senior of the firm of Browne & Brown. Hence my method of "jumping to conclusions" is one to be commended. May I refer Mr. Shaw to *Wosencroft's Directory* for 1790? The first entry of the Brown family is George Browne, the next Henry Brown, the third Browne & Brown's warehouse. These are the entries for the two partners and for the firm. The *Gazette* for the 22nd April, 1793, gives these two names as partners in Browne & Brown. *Gore's Advertiser* for the 8th January, 1789, and *Williamson's Advertiser* for the 10th June and the 22nd July, 1793, give particulars which also confirm this. Mr. Shaw will also recollect that the only George Browne under discussion is the one who lived at the present 118, Duke Street.

Now, with reference to the "formerly numbered 32," Duke Street, Picton's phrase must have some meaning. I have endeavoured to assign one to it. Mr. Shaw does not agree with this, but suggests no alternative. That the 32 of 1790 or 1796 was not in Picton's mind is obvious, since my little tables show that the then 32 was above, and not below, Slater Street. Hence Mr. Shaw's "curious" reference to Mr. James Brown is quite out of place. But I do not now press the point.

With reference to the letter to the *Liverpool Mercury* of the 5th June, 1835, little need be said. It contains little but a confirmation of what Mr. Shaw and I are quite agreed upon

—viz., that George Browne lived at the present 118. As to Mrs. Hemans's birthplace, the writer merely expresses a belief, and this over forty years after the event. This surely is not evidence.

On quite a different footing is the communication of Mr. Robert W. Bourne. Had I not taken Mr. Shaw's conclusions as to the date of Mrs. Hemans's birth—viz., the year 1794, and had I known of Mr. Bourne's comment on Mr. Shaw's paper, my article in your issue of the 10th instant would not have been written. Mr. Shaw gave many good reasons why the date should be 1794, and not 1793. But here comes in the specific value of *Wosencroft's Directory* of 1794. This directory would be issued in the early months of the year, if it followed the usual course. But Mr. Shaw can refer to this point. My copy of *Wosencroft* for 1790 is dated 28th January, and *Gore's Directory* for the same year was issued in the early months. Further, to anyone accustomed, as I have been, to compare the papers of these times with the current directory, there is no lack of internal evidence of this. In *Wosencroft's Directory* for 1794, as Mr. Shaw states, Mr. Cornelius Bourne is given as the occupier of the present No 118, and as he, according to Mr. R. W. Bourne's letter, commenced his occupancy about the time of Mrs. Hemans's birth, this must have been in September, 1793. The very awkward circumstances attending her birth, impressed the matter on the minds of the Bourne family. Now, herein is a confirmation of my statements with reference to George Browne's misfortunes. As I stated, the house was sold early in September, 1793; and Mr. Bourne also states "that most of the furniture had been "removed." It had, indeed—by the two public auctions mentioned by me. Mr. Bourne's letter causes me to withdraw from my former position. It was on account of the year of her birth being given as 1794 that I characterised the occurrence to have been impossible, and for that year I still maintain it. But change the year to 1793, and, with the help of Mr. Bourne's letter, all becomes clear. I see that both the *D.N.B.* and the Historic Society's tablet give the date as 1793.

I have been asked why reference to the parish registers has not been made. It is only due to Mr. Shaw to state, to a wider public than the *Transactions* of the Historic Society reach, that he has done the community the service of searching all the books, but, alas! in vain.—Yours, &c.,

JOHN HUGHES.

# LANCASHIRE CATHOLICISM.

THE following table contains the Lancashire portion of an "Account of Papists within "the Diocese of Chester," drawn up in the year 1767, by order of the Bishop. The parishes in the deaneries of Kendal and Lonsdale have all been included, though a few are in Westmorland and Yorkshire. The Cheshire portion has been printed in the *Cheshire Sheaf*, (3rd series, vol. v), but a summary of the figures of this portion as well as for the whole archdeaconry of Richmond is added. The returns are contained in a small quarto volume, preserved in the Diocesan Registry at Chester, and for permission to copy and print it the Society is indebted to John Gamon, Esq., the Diocesan Registrar.

The 1717 figures seem to have been taken from the statistics compiled by Bishop Gastrell, and printed in the *Notitia Cestrensis* (Chetham Society). At first sight there appears a very surprising and unexpected increase in the later returns; it is, however, probable that at the earlier time the number of concealed Catholics was larger than at the later. This may have been owing to the suppression of the Jacobite rising of 1715, which entailed disastrous consequences on the adherents of the ancient faith, generally sympathisers with the Stuart cause, and in a large number of cases open supporters of the rebellion. By 1767 the period of persecution was drawing to an end, and there was less occasion than formerly to conceal religious convictions. The figures invite further questions as to the cause of the predominance of Protestantism at the present time, not only in the great towns, where the population is to a large extent "foreign," but in those

rural districts in which it is evident that formerly the majority of the inhabitants were not Protestant. The south-east portion of Lancashire was, from the Reformation onwards, decidedly inclined to the new opinions, and the figures here given show that in this, then the most important, district, Protestantism had a decided preponderance.

Of great interest are the names of the missionary priests who ministered to their flocks at that time. Some of these appear to be well known already, like Richard Gregson of Sefton, a Benedictine, who a few years later founded the present Netherton mission (see vol. xlix, p. 133); in other cases the notices give fresh information. The priests at Liverpool in 1767, who are not named in the following list, seem to have been Thomas Hawkins (*alias* Perkins), S.J., a Sussex man; and James Newton (*alias* Nelson), a Londoner; at least these fathers were here in that year, but perhaps successively:—

DEANRY OF MANCHESTER.

| | Anno 1717 | Anno 1767 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ashton-under-Line ... | — | 2 | |
| Lees ... ... ... | — | — | |
| Mosley ... ... ... | — | 2 | |
| Bolton ... ... ... | 43 | 37 | |
| Little Bolton ... | — | — | |
| Blackrod ... ... | — | 36 | |
| Bradshaw ... .. | 35 | — | |
| Rivington .. ... | — | — | |
| Turton ... ... ... | — | 1 | |
| Walmesley .. ... | — | — | in y^e Par. list. |
| Bury .. ... ... | 1 | 1 | |
| Edenfield ... ... | — | — | in y^e Par. list. |
| Heywood ... ... | — | — | |
| Holcomb ... ... | — | — | in y^e Par. list. |
| Dean ... .. ... | 46 | 31 | |
| Horwich ... ... | — | 3 | |
| Peele... ... ... | — | 3 | |
| Westhoughton ... | 1 | 4 | |

| | Anno 1717 | Anno 1767 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Eccles ... ... ... | 10 | 18 | |
| Ellenbrooke ... | — | — | |
| Flixton ... ... ... | — | — | |
| Manchester ... ... | 13 | 287 | |
| Ardwick ... ... | — | — | |
| Birch ... .. ... | — | — | |
| Blakeley ... ... | — | 1 | |
| Chorlton ... ... | — | 1 | Mr Barlow of Barlow. |
| Denton ... ... | — | — | |
| Didsbury ... . | — | — | |
| Gorton ... ... | — | — | |
| Heaton Norris .. | — | — | |
| Newton ... ... | — | — | |
| Salford ... ... | 3 | 64 | |
| Stretford ... ... | — | 20 | Excl. of Mr Trafford of T: who lives mostly at York. |
| Middleton ... ... | 1 | 3 | |
| Ashworth ... ... | — | — | in ye Par. list. |
| Cockey ... ... | — | — | " " |
| Prestwich ... ... | 1 | 3 | |
| Oldham ... ... | — | 21 | |
| Ringley ... ... | — | — | |
| Royton ... ... | — | — | |
| Shaw ... ... ... | — | 1 | |
| Unsworth ... ... | — | — | |
| Rochdale ... ... ... | — | 14 | |
| Littleborough ... | — | — | |
| Milnrow ... ... | — | — | in ye Par. list. |
| Saddleworth ... | — | — | |
| Todmerdine ... | — | — | Do. |
| Whitworth ... ... | — | — | Do. |
| Ratcliff .. ... ... | — | — | |
| | 154 | 553 | |

## Deanry of Warrington.

| | Anno 1717 | Anno 1767 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Altcar ... ... ... | 17 | 92 | |
| Aughton ... ... ... | 80 | 145 | Bertram Bulmer, priest. |
| Childwall ... ... ... | 208 | 151 | |
| Garston ... ... | — | 153 | |
| Hale ... ... ... | — | 18 | |
| Halsall ... ... ... | 146 | 36 | |

| | Anno 1717 | Anno 1767 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Maghull ... ... | 2[1] | 126 | |
| Melling ... ... | 7[1] | 67 | |
| Huyton ... ... ... | 13 | 151 | |
| Leigh ... ... ... | 107 | 269 | |
| Astley ... ... ... | — | 10 | |
| Atherton ... ... | — | 25 | |
| Liverpoole ... ... | 200 | 1743 | |
| North Meols ... .. | 5 | 3 | |
| Ormeskirk ... ... | 358 | 1086 | Nich[s] Fournier at Scarsbrick, Ja[s] Brown at Lathom, priests. |
| Prescott ... ... ... | 372 | 1294 | Jos. Bamand at Windle, Phil. Butler at Par, M[r] Weldon and M[r] Conyers at Eccleston. |
| St. Ellens (ret[d] in Par.)... ... ... | — | — | |
| Farnworth .. ... | 35[1] | 326 | Marma. Wilson, priest. |
| Rainford ... ... | 8[1] | 71 | |
| Sankey... ... ... | — | 14 | |
| Sephton ... ... ... | 515 | 603 | Rich[d] Gregson, a monk, priest. |
| Crosby ... ... ... | — | 154 | Hen. Blundell of Ince Esq[r] Hen. Pippard Esq[r] of Crosby. |
| Walton (Hen. Tatlock, priest)... ... | 61 | 108 | |
| Formby ... ... | 208 | 363 | John Blundell, priest. |
| Kirkby... ... ... | 8[1] | 98 | Tho[s] Butchard, a Jesuit. |
| West Derby ... | 60 | 197 | Barnett Bolus, priest. |
| Warrington ... ... | 69 | 401 | Tho. Shuttleworth, priest. |
| Burtonwood ... | 2[1] | 15 | |
| Hollinfair ... ... | — | 41 | |
| Wigan ... ... ... | 594 | 1194 | John Worthington, priest. |
| Billinge ... ... | 10[1] | 94 | Elmer Grimbolston, priest. |
| Hindley ... ... | — | 108 | John Eastham, priest. |
| Holland ... ... | — | 216 | |
| Winwick (Sir Tho. Gerard of Brynn, Bart., Mr. Green, priest) ... ... ... | 461 | 796 | M[r] Leigh, priest at Culcheth. |
| ret[d] at Win. Ashton ... | 100 | — | Another W[m] Dicconson of Culcheth. |
| ret[d] at Win. Lowton ... | — | — | |

[1] Familys.

| | | Anno 1717 | Anno 1767 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ret[d] at Win. | Newchurch | — | — | M[r] Royle and M[r] Horn, other priests at Croft and Southworth. |
| | Newton ... | — | — | M[r] Welton, a priest in Ashton quarter. |
| | | 3,646 | 10,168 | |
| To be added for 72 familys sett down as individuals ... | | 288 | — | |
| | | 3,934 | 10,168 | |

DEANRY OF BLACKBURN.

| | Anno 1717 | Anno 1767 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Blackburn ... ... | 532 | 239 | |
| Balderstone ... ... | — | 82 | |
| Darwen ... ... | — | — | |
| Harwood ... ... | — | 39 | |
| Lango ... ... ... | — | 69 | |
| Samlesbury ... ... | — | 351 | |
| Tockholes ... ... | — | 13 | |
| Walton-le-Dale ... | 499 | 823 | |
| Whalley ... ... ... | 128 | 20 | |
| Altham ... ... | — | 86 | |
| Accrington ... ... | — | | |
| Burnley and ... | 120 | 118 | John Harrison, priest. Cha[s] Townley of Townley Esq[r] |
| Holme ... ... | — | | |
| Clitheroe ... ... | — | 12 | |
| Churchkirk ... ... | — | 7 | |
| Colne ... ... ... | — | 12 | |
| Marsden ... ... | — | — | in Coln list. |
| Downham ... ... | — | — | |
| Haslingden ... ... | — | — | |
| Goodshaw ... ... | — | — | |
| Newchurch-in-Pendle | — | — | |
| Do. -in-Rossendale | — | 3 | |
| Padiam ... ... | — | 14 | |
| Whitewell ... ... | 5[2] | 86 | John Moore, priest. |
| | 1284 | 1974 | |
| To be added for familys sett down as individuals ... | 20 | | |
| | 1304 | | |

[2] Familys.

## Deanry of Leyland.

| | Anno 1717 | Anno 1767 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Brindle ... ... | 170 | 364 | Joseph Hadley, priest. |
| Croston ... ... ... | 184 | 359 | R^d Leckonby, do. |
| Becconsall ... ... | — | 13 | Thuur Trafford, Esq^r |
| Chorley ... ... | — | 202 | Hannah Edgar, schoolm^rs |
| Rufford ... ... | — | 13 | |
| Tarleton ... ... | — | 2 | |
| Eccleston ... ... | 43 | 287 | W^m Grimbalston, p^r |
| Douglass ... ... | — | — | Edw: Dicconson, Esq^r, of Wrightington. |
| Hoole ... ... ... | 9 | 2 | |
| Leyland .. ... ... | 272 | 375 | M^r Bradshaw. |
| Euxton ... ... | — | 134 | Jn^o White. priest. |
| Heapey ... ... | — | 295 | Jn^o Richardson, p^r |
| Penwortham ... ... | 27 | 69 | Longton included. |
| Longton ... ... | — | — | |
| Standish ... ... ... | 328 | 552 | One priest, his name not returned. |
| Coppull ... ... | — | 89 | |
| | 1033 | 2756 | |

## Deanry of Amounderness.

| | Anno 1717 | Anno 1767 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bispham ... ... ... | 8 | 4 | |
| Chipping ... ... ... | 55 | 186 | Leonardo Francis, p^r |
| Cockerham ... ... | 83 | 57 | |
| Ellel ... ... ... | — | 40 | |
| Shireshead ... ... | — | — | ret^d at Cockerham. John Sergeant, at Wiresdale. |
| Garstang ... ... ... | 230 | 837 | |
| Pilling ... ... ... | — | no ret. | added later—"One only, "and that ret^d at Gar-"stang." |
| Kirkham (above 16 years of age) ... | 477 | 989 | Tho. Cuerdon, a Jesuit [priest. |
| Goosenargh (above 16 years of age) | 145 | 316 | John Carter and John [Maudesley, priests. |
| White Chapel ... | — | 200 | |
| Hambleton ... ... | — | 3 | |
| Lund ... ... ... | — | 182 | Jno. Davidson, priest. |
| Singleton ... ... | — | 135 | Peter Waring, secular priest, M^r Brown, Popish priest. |

| | Anno 1717 | Anno 1767 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| In the Parish list. Ribby with Wray ... | — | — | |
| In the Parish list. Warton ... | — | — | |
| Lancaster ... ... | no ret. | 650 | Ja^s Tyrer, priest. |
| Admarsh ... ... | — | 23 | |
| Caton ... .. ... | 20 | 40 | |
| Gressingham ... | — | 2 | |
| Littledale ... ... | — | 29 | |
| Overton ... ... | — | 11 | |
| Poulton ... ... | — | 1 | |
| Stalmine ... ... | 17 | 25 | |
| Wyresdale ... ... | — | 47 | |
| Lytham ... ... ... | no ret. | 384 | Jn^o Mansel, als Talbot. Jesuit priest. Tho^s Clifton Esq^re |
| St. Michael's ... ... | 206 | 184 | |
| Woodplumpton ... | — | 276 | |
| Cop ... ... ... | — | 91 | Fran. Cliff, priest. |
| Poolton ... ... ... | 67 | 146 | |
| Marton... ... ... | — | 18 | |
| Preston .. ... ... | 643 | 1043 | M^r Smith, priest. |
| Broughton ... ... | — | 313 | M^r Chadwick, pr. Tho. Walton, pr. |
| Grimsargh ... ... | — | 117 | |
| St. Lawrence ... | — | 131 | |
| Ribchester ... ... | 204 | 275 | |
| Longridge ... ... | — | 213 | Ja^s Wilson, priest. |
| Stidd ... ... ... | — | 49 | |
| | 2155 | 7017 | |

## Deanry of Lonsdale.

| | Anno 1717 | Anno 1767 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bentham ... ... ... | 5 | 9 | |
| Ingleton ... ... | — | 2 | |
| Ingletonfell ... ... | — | — | |
| Clapham ... ... ... | 2 | 58 | Jn^o Step: Ingleby of Lawkland Hall, Esq^r |
| Claughton ... ... | 16 | 13 | Jas. Le Grand, priest. |
| Kirkby Lonsdale ... | 7 | — | Chas. Ingleby of Austwick, Esq^r |
| Barton... ... ... | — | — | |
| Firbank ... ... | — | — | |
| Huttonroof ... ... | — | — | |

| | Anno 1717 | Anno 1767 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Killington ... ... | — | 5 | |
| Mansergh ... ... | — | — | |
| Middleton ... .. | — | — | |
| Melling ... ... ... | 48 | 2 | |
| Archolm ... ... | — | 7 | |
| Hornby ... ... | — | 98 | Mr Butler, priest. |
| Sedbergh ... ... | — | 1 | |
| Dent ... ... ... | — | — | |
| Garsdale ... ... | — | 8 | |
| Howgill ... ... | — | — | |
| Tatham . ... ... | 5 | 14 | Wm Pennington, priest |
| Tathamfell ... ... | — | 1 | |
| Thornton ... ... | 2 | 7 | |
| Burton ... ... | — | — | in Par. list. |
| Tunstall ... ... ... | 14 | 4 | |
| Leck ... ... ... | — | — | |
| Whittington ... ... | — | — | |
| | 99 | 229 | |

## Deanry of Furness.

| | Anno 1717 | Anno 1767 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aldingham ... ... | 1 | — | |
| Dendron ... ... | — | — | |
| Cartmell ... ... ... | 8 | 5 | |
| Cartmellfell ... ... | — | — | |
| Field Broughton... | — | — | |
| Flookborough ... | — | 2 | |
| Lindale ... ... | — | — | |
| Staveley . . ... | — | 3 | |
| Coulton ... ... ... | — | — | |
| Finsthwaite... ... | — | — | |
| Rusland ... ... | — | — | |
| Dalton ... ... ... | 7 | 23 | John West, priest. |
| Kirkby Irelith ... | — | — | in Par. list. |
| Ramside ... ... | — | — | Do. |
| Walney ... ... | — | — | |
| Hawkshead ... ... | — | — | |
| Saterthwaite ... | — | — | |
| Kirkby Irelith... ... | — | — | |
| Broughton ... ... | — | 1 | |
| Seathwaite ... ... | — | — | |
| Woodland ... ... | — | — | |
| Pennington ... ... | — | — | |

| | Anno 1717 | Anno 1767 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ulverstone ... ... | 4 | 13 | |
| Blawith ... ... | — | — | |
| Conistone ... ... | — | — | |
| Lowick ... ... | — | — | |
| Torver ... ... ... | — | — | |
| Urswick ... ... ... | 7 | — | no kind of Dissenter. |
| | 27 | 47 | |

DEANRY OF KENDALE.

| | Anno 1717 | Anno 1767 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Beetham ... ... ... | 38 | — | |
| Witherslack ... | — | 1 | |
| Bolton in the Sands.. | 2 | 27 | |
| Overkellet ... ... | — | — | |
| Burton ... ... ... | 6 | 12 | |
| Preston Patrick ... | 2 | — | |
| Grasmere ... ... | — | — | |
| Ambleside ... ... | — | — | |
| Langdale ... ... | — | — | no kind of Dissenter. |
| Halton ... ... ... | 1[3] | 16 | |
| Aughton ... ... | — | | |
| Heversham ... ... | 26 | 32 | |
| Crosthwaite... ... | 9 | — | |
| Croscrake ... ... | — | — | in Par. list. |
| Heysham ... ... | 2 | — | |
| Kendale... ... ... | 72 | 165 | |
| Burnside ... ... | 1 | 7 | |
| Crooke... ... ... | — | — | |
| Grayrigg ... ... | — | 7 | |
| Hugill ... ... ... | — | — | |
| Kentmire ... ... | — | — | |
| Longsleddale ... | — | 2 | |
| Helsington .. ... | — | 19 | Cha[s] Strickland, Esq[r] |
| Notland ... ... | — | — | |
| New Hutton ... | — | — | |
| Old Hutton ... | — | — | |
| Selside... .. ... | — | 1 | |
| Staveley ... ... | — | — | no Diss[rs] but two Quakers. |
| Underbarrow ... | — | 1 | |
| Winster ... ... | — | — | |
| Warton ... ... ... | 7 | 54 | Geo. Townley, Esq[re]<br>M[r] Wharton, priest. |

3 Family.

| | Anno 1717 | Anno 1767 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Silverdale ... ... | — | — | in Par. list. |
| Windermere ... ... | — | — | |
| Troutbeck ... ... | — | — | no kind of Dissenters. |
| | 166 | 344 | |
| To be added for one family sett down as an individual ... | 4 | | |
| | 170 | | |

CHESTER ARCHDEACONRY.

| | 1717 | 1767 |
|---|---|---|
| Bangor ... ... | 2 | — |
| Blackburn ... ... | 1304 | 1974 |
| Chester .. ... | 116 | 138 |
| Frodsham ... .. | 66 | 108 |
| Leyland ... ... | 1033 | 2756 |
| Macclesfield ... | 83 | 59 |
| Malpas ... ... | 17 | — |
| Manchester .. | 154 | 553 |
| Middlewich ... | 14 | 14 |
| Namptwich ... | 58 | 22 |
| Warrington ... | 3934 | 10168 |
| Wirral ... ... | 65 | 207 |
| | 6846 | 15999 |

Increase..... 9153

RICHMOND ARCHDEACONRY.

| | 1717 | 1767 |
|---|---|---|
| Amounderness ... | 2155 | 7017 |
| Burroughbridg ... | 196 | 284 |
| Catherick ... ... | 260 | 380 |
| Copeland ... ... | 30 | 148 |
| Furness ... ... | 27 | 47 |
| Kendale ... ... | 170 | 344 |
| Lonsdale ... ... | 99 | 229 |
| Richmond ... ... | 525 | 691 |
| | 3462 | 9140 |

Increase..... 5678

| | 1717 | 1767 |
|---|---|---|
| Totals of the whole ... ... ... | 10308 | 25139 |

Total increase... ... 14831

[Later]—Total numbers returned by order of Parliament, in 1780 ... ... 27228

# REPORT, 1902.

During the year seven Ordinary and one Life Member have joined the Society; while fifteen Life or Ordinary Members have either died, resigned, or had their names amoved from the Society's roll of members for non-payment of subscriptions. Among those deceased is Mr. Alfred Patchett, a member of our Council—an accomplished palæographer and genealogist—who died at the age of 48, after great and protracted suffering, in the month of August.

Ten meetings have been held during the year, at all of which, with one exception, papers dealing with the history or archæology of our district have been read before fairly numerous audiences.

Two Excursions took place during the summer; the first being to Chester, on June 14th, under the guidance of Mr. Wm. Fergusson Irvine, when the Grosvenor Museum was inspected, and its contents explained by Mr. Robert Newstead and Mr. Edward Hodkinson. Visits were subsequently paid to various places of interest in the city, especially those where recent discoveries had been made. The Cathedral was next visited, where, through the courtesy of the Dean and Chapter, access to the triforium and tower was permitted. The number of those joining in this most interesting excursion was, unfortunately, very small. On Saturday, 26th July, a more numerous party journeyed to Upholland, where the Priory Church and ruins of the Priory were viewed; after which the Museum and fine collection of illustrated books—formed by the late James O'Byrne, a Liverpool architect, and now deposited in St. Joseph's College, Upholland—were inspected, and the party hospitably entertained by the Rector of the College.

Vol. LII of the Society's *Transactions* was issued in April.

## MEMBERS ELECTED, 1902.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. 16 | Abraham, T. Fell. | Nov. 6 | Coventry, Harold. |
| ,, 16 | Abraham, E. Mitford. | ,, 6 | Golding, A. D. |
| ,, 16 | Lyceum Library, Liverpool. | ,, 6 | Sutton, P. Ryder. |
| ,, 16 | Paige-Cox, Rev. W. L | ,, 20 | Brooke, Henry. |
| | | ,, 20 | Gladstone, Robert, junr. (Life). |

Mr. T. W. Rundell has become a Life Member.

## PAPERS READ, 1902.

Jan. 16 "Early Liverpool Topography."
Wm. Fergusson Irvine.

„ 30 "Some Church Dedications in Cheshire and South Lancashire." ... ... J. Brownbill, M.A.

Feb. 13 "Wayside Sketches" and "Wayside Notes."
Wm. Fred. Price.

„ 27 "A Sketch of Blackpool in the Eighteenth Century."
Charles Roeder.

Mar. 13 "The Chapel of St. Mary del Quay, Liverpool."
John Elton.

April 10 "Merchant Taylor's School, Great Crosby."
Thomas Goffey.

Nov. 6 "The third Egyptian Dynasty"
John Garstang, B.A., B.Litt.

„ 20 "Notices of Chester, Liverpool and District in the Patent and Close Rolls, A.D. 1272-1345."
J. H. Lumby, B.A.

Dec. 4 "Discoveries at Veratinum in 1901-1902."
Thomas May, F.E.I.S.

" 18 "An account of six deeds of the Knights Hospitallers, relating to Woolton, recently found at Aston Hall, Frodsham"
Robert Gladstone, junr., B.C.L., M.A

And of "Some early deeds, relating to Chester, found at the same place."
Wm. Fergusson Irvine.

# The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire in account with the Hon. Treasurer,

YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1902.

## RECEIPTS.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1902. | | | |
| Jan. 1.—Balance in Bank .. .. .. .. | £19 | 6 | 8 |
| Received Subscriptions during the year, including Dividends on Consols, Cash from sale of books, and Bank interest .. .. .. .. .. | 241 | 18 | 4 |
| Two Life Compositions .. .. .. .. .. | 21 | 0 | 0 |
| Donation towards illustrations, from R. D. Radcliffe, Esquire, M.A., F.S.A. .. .. .. .. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Donation towards illustrations, from William Farrer, Esquire .. .. .. .. .. | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| | £290 | 5 | 0 |

WILLIAM E. GREGSON,
*Honorary Treasurer.*

13th January, 1903.

## PAYMENTS.

| | | | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1902. | | | | | | |
| Rent .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | | | | £10 | 10 | 0 |
| Refreshments .. .. .. .. .. .. | | | | 7 | 10 | 10 |
| Secretary's Honorarium .. .. .. .. .. | | | | 39 | 7 | 6 |
| Indexing Volume .. .. .. .. .. .. | | | | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| Printing Volume, Notices, &c. .. .. .. .. | | | | 168 | 13 | 3 |
| Subscriptions to other Societies, and for the Archæological Index .. .. .. .. .. | | | | 3 | 6 | 9 |
| Fire Insurance .. .. .. .. .. .. | | | | 0 | 16 | 0 |
| Fees to Lecturers—C. Roeder .. .. | £1 | 6 | 0 | | | |
| John Garstang .. .. .. .. | 2 | 2 | 0 | | | |
| | | | | 3 | 8 | 0 |
| Limelight .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | | | | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Books purchased to add to stock .. .. .. | | | | 10 | 9 | 0 |
| Librarian's Expenses—Bookbinding .. | £4 | 12 | 8 | | | |
| Postages .. .. .. .. | 0 | 9 | 1 | | | |
| | | | | 5 | 1 | 9 |
| Treasurer for Postages .. .. .. .. .. | | | | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| Balance in Bank .. .. .. .. .. .. | | | | 30 | 10 | 11 |
| | | | | £290 | 5 | 0 |

Audited,
WM. FERGUSSON IRVINE.

29th September, 1903.

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OF

# VOLUMES I TO LI, 1849-1900,

OF THE

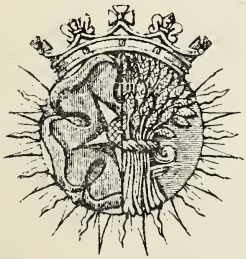
# Transactions of the Historic Society

OF

# Lancashire and Cheshire.

PREPARED BY

F. C. BEAZLEY.



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Members are expressly cautioned that the following does not pretend to be exhaustive or scientific: it is merely a rough index of subjects, with some reference to sub-headings, families, &c., which the compiler trusts may be of use until a better one can be prepared, and in that hope he presents it to the Council and Members.

F. C. BEAZLEY.

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Thomas Brakell Limited, 58 Stanley Street, Liverpool.

# CONGRESS

OF

# Archæological Societies,

## JULY 8TH, 1903.

The Fourteenth Congress of Archæological Societies in Union with the Society of Antiquaries, was held on Wednesday, July 8th, at Burlington House ; Viscount Dillon being prevented from attending the Chair was taken by Sir John Evans, K.C.B., V.P.S.A.

The Congress was attended by Delegates from the Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Archæological Institute (3), the British Archæological Association (3), the Huguenot Society, and the Societies for Berks, Bristol and Gloucestershire, Bucks, Cambs and Hunts (2), Cumberland and Westmoreland, Essex, Hants, East Herts, Lancashire and Cheshire (2), Leicestershire, Suffolk, Surrey (2), Sussex (2), Wilts, Woolhope Club, Worcestershire, The Folklore Society, and Members of the Committee.

The Minutes of the last Congress, held on July 10th, 1901, were read and confirmed.

The Hon. Secretary explained that no Congress had been held in 1902 owing to the preoccupations of the Coronation.

The Report of the Standing Committee was read and approved, and the Statement of Accounts, audited by Mr. W. Minet, F.S.A., was read and adopted. The thanks of the Meeting were given to Mr. Minet for his services, and he was appointed Auditor for the ensuing year.

The following were elected as the Standing Committee :—

The Officers of the Society of Antiquaries.
J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.
E. W. Brabrook, C.B., F.S.A.
Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, M.A., F.S.A.
Sir John Evans, K.C.B., F.S.A.
G. E. Fox, M.A., F.S.A.
G. L. Gomme, F.S.A.
I. Chalkley Gould.
Emanuel Green, F.S.A.
W. H. St. John Hope, M.A.
Wm. Minet, F.S.A.
Canon Rupert Morris, D.D., F.S.A.
George Payne, F.S.A.
J. Horace Round, M.A.
J. B. Willis-Bund, M.A., F.S.A.

Mr. Ralph Nevill, F.S.A., was re-elected Hon. Secretary, and the thanks of the Meeting expressed to him for his services in the past two years.

## EARTHWORKS COMMITTEE.

Mr. I. Chalkley Gould presented the Report of the Committee appointed to prepare a Scheme for Recording Earthworks.

Prof. Windle, F.R.S., F.S.A., in further explaining the Report, suggested that the Committee might well be strengthened and especially by the addition of military members. He deprecated any attempt to attribute age independently of excavation, and drew attention to the number of moated enclosures in Warwickshire obviously of mediæval date, especially in the Forest of Arden ; these, he thought, it would be well to include.

Mr. R. Garraway Rice, F.S.A., suggested that Lt.-Col. Attree, R.E., F.S.A., would be a useful Member of the Committee, as he had promised assistance in scheduling the camps of Sussex. He pointed out the dangers that sometimes arose to the walls of camps from the action of rabbits, and approved the inclusion of moated sites in the Schedules.

The Rev. E. H. Goddard pointed out that camps in Wilts had been greatly damaged to provide exercise grounds for racehorses ; Mr. A. R. Goddard instanced Ravensbury Castle, in Bedfordshire, as having been much injured by the plantation of young larches ; Mr. C. J. Williams thought that the planting of trees sometimes tended to preserve the camps, and other members thought it doubtful if advantage or disadvantage predominated.

Mr. Gould suggested that Lt.-Col. Ruck, R.E., who had been working on the Wall of Antoninus, should be invited to join the Committee.

Sir John Evans alluded to the great loss Archæology had sustained by the loss of General Pitt-Rivers, and the fact that no other Inspector of Ancient Monuments had been appointed ; he stated that moated enclosures should certainly be recorded, as they were often of far earlier date than the houses that were found in them. He also suggested that the County Societies should be invited to send copies to the central Committee of any Schedules they may form, and this was agreed to.

The Hon. Secretary recommended that copies of the Scheme should be supplied to Societies for issue to all their members, and on the motion of Mr. Willis-Bund, seconded by Mr. T. Blashill, and supported by Mr. Freer, this was agreed to.

Mr. Gould, as representing the Earthworks Committee, was authorised to invite Lt.-Cols. Attree and Ruck and such other Members as the Sub-Committee should think fit, to join it and form a Standing Committee to take charge of the subject.

## .OCAL RECORDS.

Great satisfaction was expressed at the terms of the Treasury Report on the Custody of Local Records, copies of which had been ent to the Secretaries of Societies. The Hon. Secretary was directed o obtain and send copies of the Appendix to the Societies

Mr. Willis-Bund, F.S.A., Chairman of the Worcestershire County Council, drew attention to the fact that, under the present system, Parish Records were in greater danger than they had ever been, and pointed out that County Councils had legal power, under an Act of ast year, to collect statistics of local charitable endowments, and to ake charge of their documents. He suggested that they should be sked, at the same time, to endeavour to obtain custody of the great nass of ancient Parish Records that were at present a burden to their ustodians, and exposed to loss and injury; he was of opinion that Parish Councils would very gladly deposit their ancient deeds in County Council strong rooms. Proposals had to his knowledge been nade to burn ancient rate books, and the separation of the tithe award nd the tithe map frequently occurred.

Mr. Freer, F.S.A., Clerk of the Peace for Leicestershire, pointed ut that not only was there a danger of wanton destruction but also f accident by fire, and strongly advocated the necessity of moving he County Councils to action.

Mr. A. R. Goddard pointed out that the tithe maps must be kept in he Parish unless copies were made and the originals sent to the Record Offices, as was desirable. Mr. Rice mentioned the many valuable documents that were often found in Parish Chests, and instanced the complete bills for the repair of a Church that he had nce found.

The Rev. C. Evelyn White, F.S.A., called attention to the serious conflicts that often took place between the Clergy and the Parish Council and the need of removing documents from the centre of strife.

Mr. Willis-Bund suggested that the County Councils Association hould be asked to enquire what County Councils had up to the present rovided strong rooms.

Messrs. Willis-Bund, Freer, Round, Blashill, and the Hon. Secreary were appointed a Committee, with power to add to their number, o take steps to promote the formation of the Record Offices.

Mr. T. Blashill and Mr. J. Parker advocated the collection in the Record Offices of Court Rolls and private deeds, and Mr. St. Clair Baddeley spoke to the vicissitudes to which such deeds were exposed. t was agreed that it was most desirable that such deeds should be afely housed.

## THE ADOPTION OF ENGLISH SURNAMES BY ALIENS.

The Hon. Secretary drew attention to the grave difficulties that were arising from the indiscriminate adoption of English surnames by undesirable aliens; this inflicted a definite injury on those lawfully entitled to such names.

It was stated that there had never been any law to prevent the adoption of surnames, and that it seemed hopeless to expect that one should be framed. A delegate pointed out, however, that foreign countries had found it necessary to impose restrictions that were at present unknown to the common law of this country.

A strong feeling prevailed that it was most desirable that some regulation should be made, but in view of the forthcoming Report of the Commission on the subject, it was agreed, on the recommendation of Lord Balcarres, not to attempt any action.

## PIPE ROLL SOCIETY.

In the absence of Mr. J. H. Round through indisposition, Mr. Em. Green, F.S.A., drew attention to the revival of the Pipe Roll Society and the importance of its being supported by Archæologists. Mr. W. H. St. John Hope spoke to the same effect, and mentioned a suggestion that the matter should be divided into Counties so that each Society might support that in which it was directly interested. Members generally expressed their interest in the revival and their willingness to bring any practical scheme before their Societies.

## EFFIGIES AND PLACE NAMES.

Mr. St. John Hope reported that a catalogue was now being made of the drawings of effigies in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries, and that on its completion it was hoped that progress might be made with the Scheme for a general Catalogue of Effigies.

In the absence of Mr. Round nothing further was reported on the subject of Place Names.

Votes of thanks to the Society of Antiquaries for the use of their room, and to the Chairman, were carried by acclamation.

RALPH NEVILL, F.S.A.,
*Hon. Secretary.*

CASTLE HILL,
GUILDFORD.

CONGRESS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES

IN UNION WITH

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.

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# SCHEME

FOR RECORDING

# ANCIENT DEFENSIVE EARTHWORKS

AND

# FORTIFIED ENCLOSURES.

1903.

# COMMITTEE

FOR RECORDING

# ANCIENT DEFENSIVE EARTHWORKS

AND

# FORTIFIED ENCLOSURES.


LORD BALCARRES, M.P., F.S.A., *Chairman.*

W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.

F. W. ATTREE (Lt.-Col. R.E.), F.S.A.

BOYD DAWKINS (Prof.), F.R.S., F.S.A.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., F.R.S., V.P.S.A.

A. R. GODDARD, B.A.

F. HAVERFIELD, F.S.A., M.A.

W. H. ST. J. HOPE, M.A.

J. HORACE ROUND, M.A.

O. E. RUCK (Lt.-Col. R.E.), F.S.A.Sc.

W. M. TAPP, LL.D.

BERTRAM C. A. WINDLE (Prof.), F.R.S., F.S.A.

I. CHALKLEY GOULD, *Hon. Sec.*
(*Royal Societies' Club, St. James's Street, London.*)


EXTRACT from the Report of the Provisional Committee the Congress of Archæological Societies :—

> "There is need, not only for schedules such as this Committee is appointed to secure, but also for active antiquaries in all parts of the country to keep keen watch over ancient fortifications of earth and stone, and to endeavour to prevent their destruction by the hand of man in this utilitarian age."

# SCHEME

FOR RECORDING

# ANCIENT DEFENSIVE EARTHWORKS

AND

# FORTIFIED ENCLOSURES.

AT the Congress of the Archæological Societies, held on July 10th, 1901, a Committee was appointed to prepare a scheme for a systematic record of ANCIENT DEFENSIVE EARTHWORKS AND FORTIFIED ENCLOSURES.

It was suggested that the secretaries of the various archæological societies, and other gentlemen likely to be interested in the subject, should be pressed to prepare schedules of the works in their respective districts, in the hope that lists may eventually be published.

It is believed that the schedules will not only be of value to archæologists and antiquaries, but may serve to interest landowners, members of County, Borough, and District Councils, and others, in these neglected but priceless memorials of the past.

As the opportunities to use their influence towards the preservation of antiquities must increase, the importance of securing the co-operation of County, Borough, and District Councils is manifest, and their efforts would be largely directed and aided by such lists as the Committee hopes to secure.

The ground has been, to some extent, covered by the useful archæological maps of the Society of Antiquaries, and by lists of early forts recorded in some volumes of the Victoria County Histories (now in course of publication); both together, however, cover but a limited portion of the country, and neither work is so generally accessible as it is hoped the Committee's schedules will be.

Not to court failure by attempting too much the Committee suggests that—

1. The lists should be confined to defensive works, omitting burial barrows and boundary banks.
2. Though careful record should be made of any "finds" indicative of period of use of the forts, no effort need be made to assign a definite period of construction, excepting in those cases in which the age is beyond question, *e.g.* camps and fortified settlements of undoubted Roman origin, or enclosures of proved Neolithic, Bronze, or Iron age.

It is proposed that defensive works be classified, so far as may be, under the following heads:—

A. Fortresses partly inaccessible, by reason of precipices, cliffs, or water, additionally defended by artificial banks or walls.

B. Fortresses on hill-tops with artificial defences, *following the natural line of the hill;*

Or, though usually on high ground, less dependent on natural slopes for protection.

C. Rectangular or other simple enclosures, including forts and towns of the Romano-British period.

D. Forts consisting only of a mount with encircling ditch or fosse.

E. Fortified mounts, either artificial or partly natural, with traces of an attached court or bailey, or of two or more such courts.

F. Homestead moats, such as abound in some lowland districts, consisting of simple enclosures formed into artificial islands by water moats.

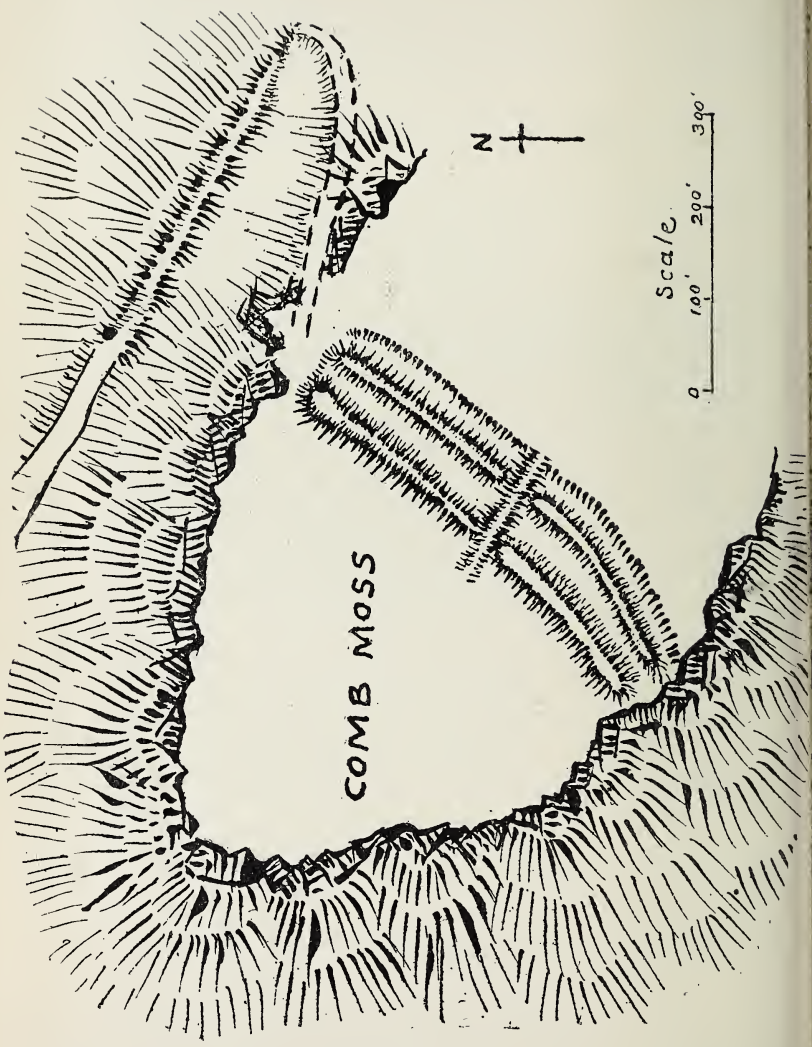
G. Works which fall under none of these headings.

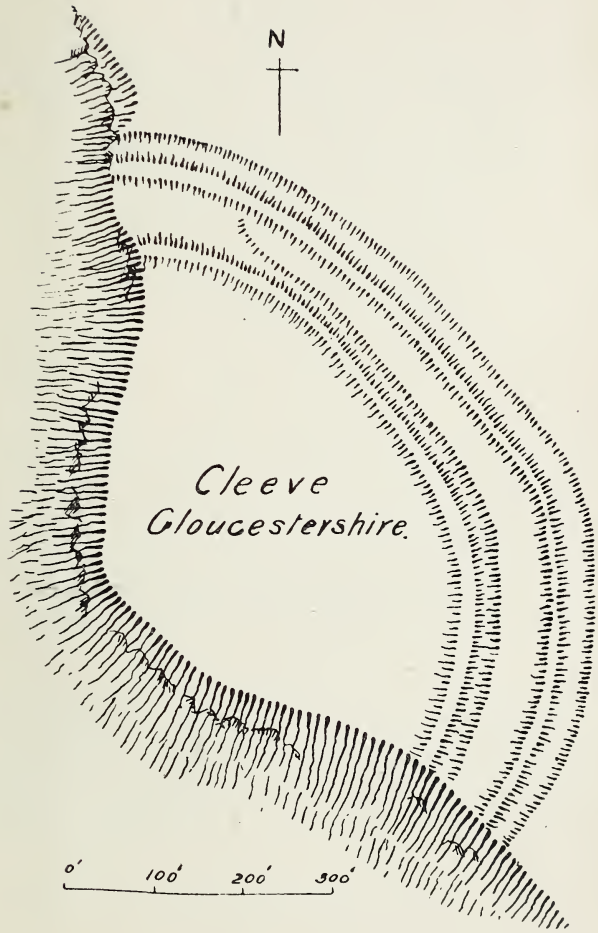
## CLASS A.

Fortresses partly inaccessible, by reason of precipices, cliffs or water, additionally defended by artificial banks or walls,

*e.g.*—Comb Moss, Derbyshire.*
Old Castle Head, Pembrokeshire.
Treryn Dinas (Logan Rock), Cornwall.
Doward Hill, near Monmouth.
Dike Hills, Dorchester, Oxfordshire.
Cleeve Camp, Gloucestershire.*

* See plans on following pages.


COMB MOSS
N
Scale
0
100'
200'
300'


N
Cleeve
Gloucestershire.
0'
100'
200'
300'

## CLASS B.

Fortresses on hill-tops with artificial defences, *following the natural line of the hill*,

*e.g.*—Mam Tor, Derbyshire.*
Cadbury (near Wincanton), Somersetshire.
Hambledon Hill, Dorsetshire.
Hembury, Devonshire.
Cissbury, Sussex.
Badbury Rings, Dorsetshire.*
Maiden Castle, Dorset.

---

Or, though usually on high ground, less dependent on natural slopes for protection,

*e.g.*—Ambresbury Banks, Essex.*
Yarnbury, Wiltshire.*
The Auberys (Redborne), Herts.
Hunsbury, near Northampton.*

---

The entrance ways to early hill-forts were frequently rendered difficult of approach, sometimes circuitous as at Ardoch, dangerous as at Comb Moss, or involved as at the east and west ends of Maiden Castle.* Such entrance ways should be carefully noted.

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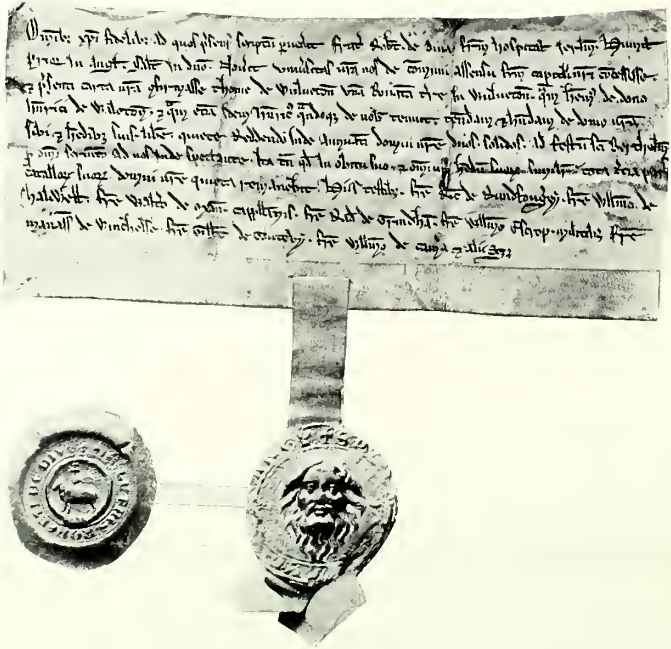
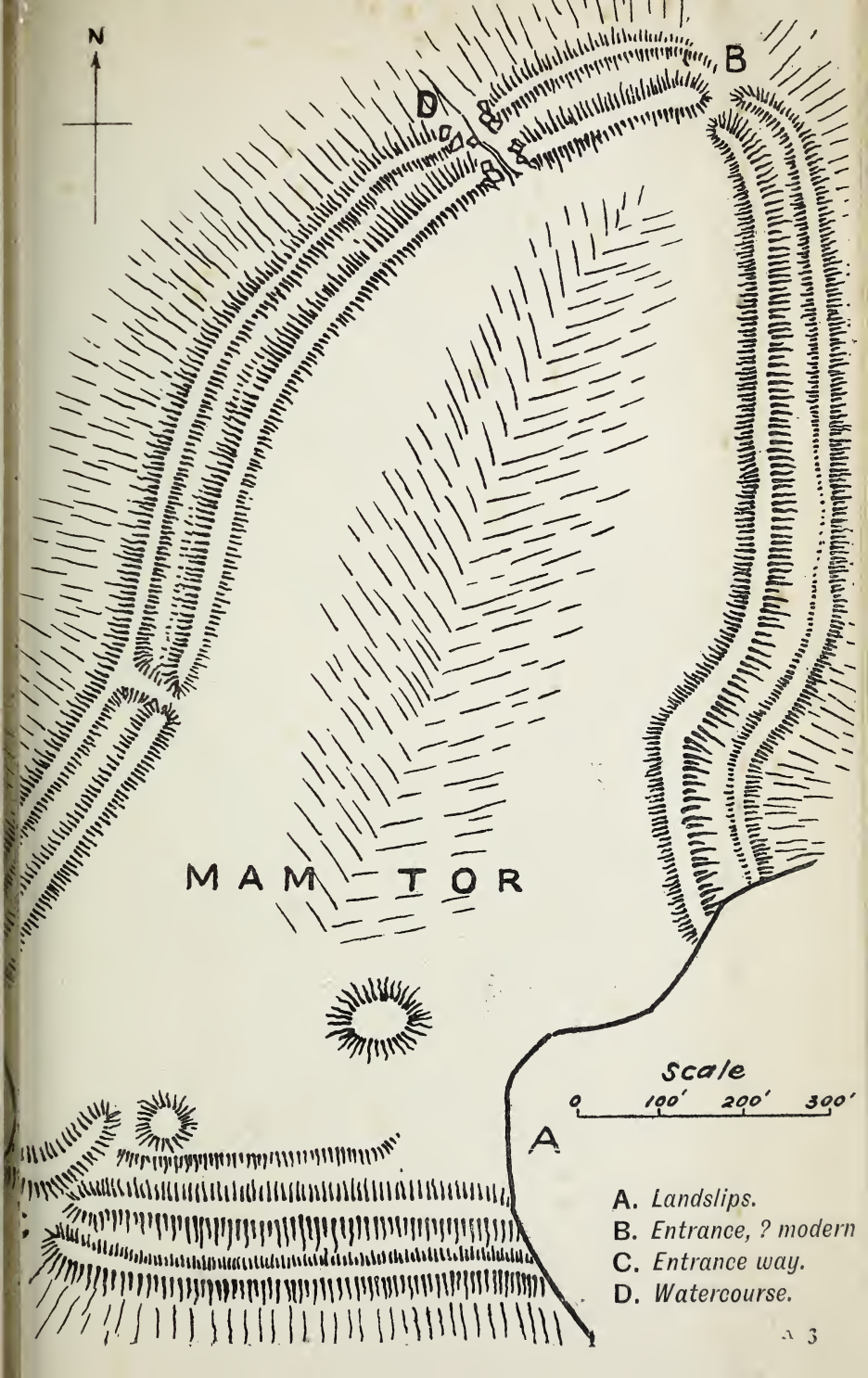
* See plans on following pages.

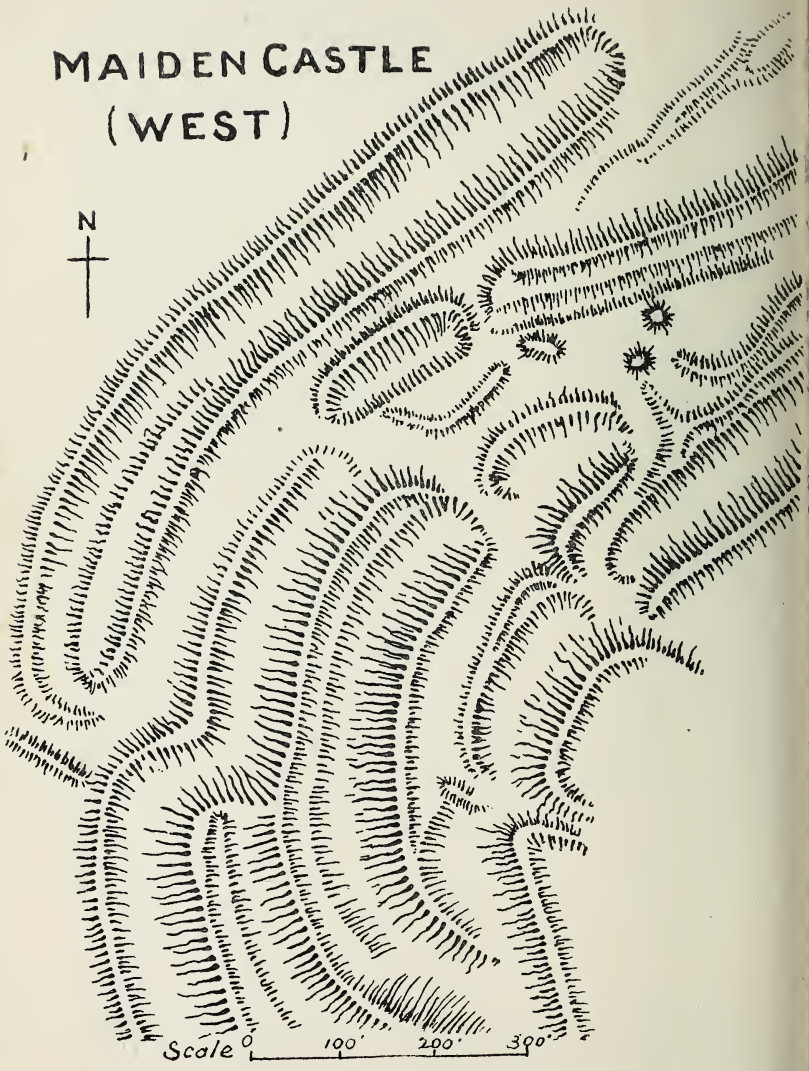
100
200
300

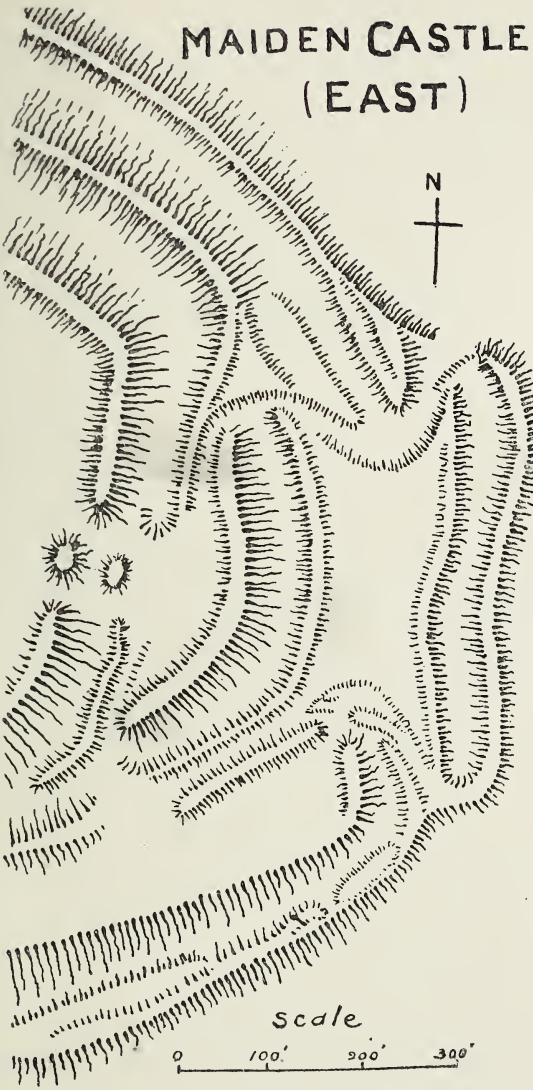
No. 7
(ORIGINAL SIZE)

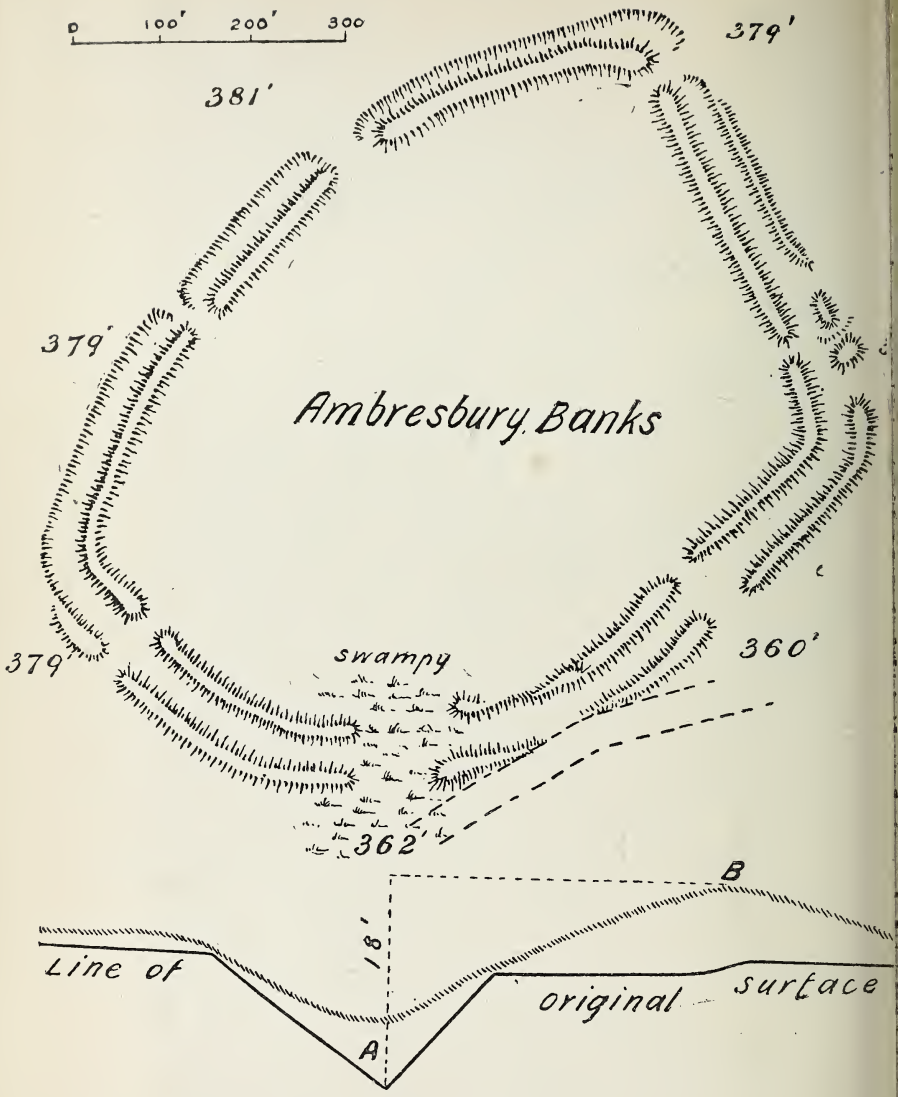


CHARTER OF PRIOR ROBERT DE DIVE
(ABOUT 1230 A.D.)


N
B
D
MAM TOR
Scale
0 100' 200' 300'
A
A. Landslips.
B. Entrance, ? modern
C. Entrance way.
D. Watercourse.


MAIDEN CASTLE
(WEST)
N
Scale 0 100' 200' 300'


MAIDEN CASTLE
(EAST)
N
Scale
0
100'
200'
300'

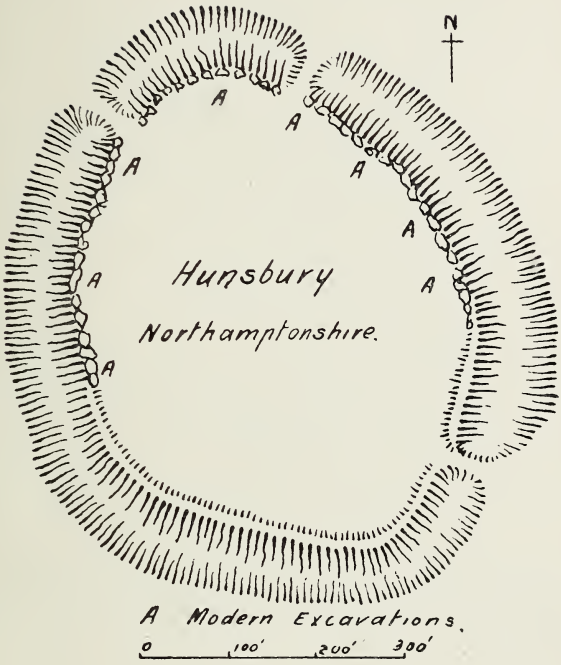



A. 7 ft. of silt had accumulated here since fosse was cut.

B. Present summit of rampart, originally higher. The shaded line indicates present surface.

The figures indicate feet above sea level.

The section is copied from Essex Field Club *Transactions*, 1881.


N
A
A
A
A
A
A
A
A
Hunsbury
Northamptonshire.
A Modern Excavations.
0
100'
200'
300'

## CLASS C.

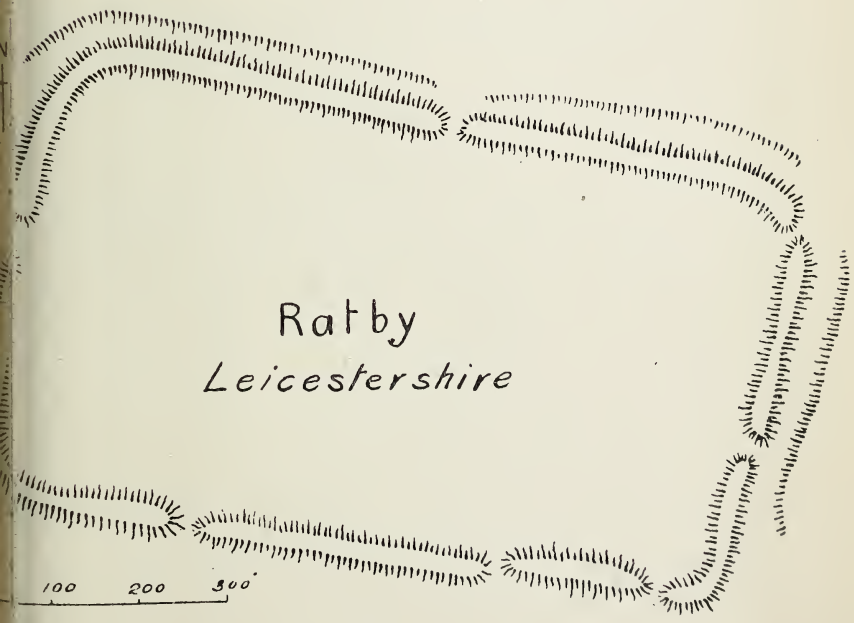
Rectangular or other simple enclosures, including forts and towns of the Romano-British period,

*e.g.*—Melandra, Derbyshire.*
Silchester, Hampshire.
Ratby, Leicestershire.*
Caerleon, Monmouthshire.
Wareham, Dorsetshire.
Richboro', Kent.
Woodcuts, Cranborne Chase, Dorsetshire.
Porchester, Hampshire.

* See plans on following page.

In some cases, as at Silchester and Porchester, the earthen defences have been strengthened by the addition of a wall and towers of masonry.

N
MELANDRA
Scale
0
100'
200'
300'


Ratby
Leicestershire
100
200
300'

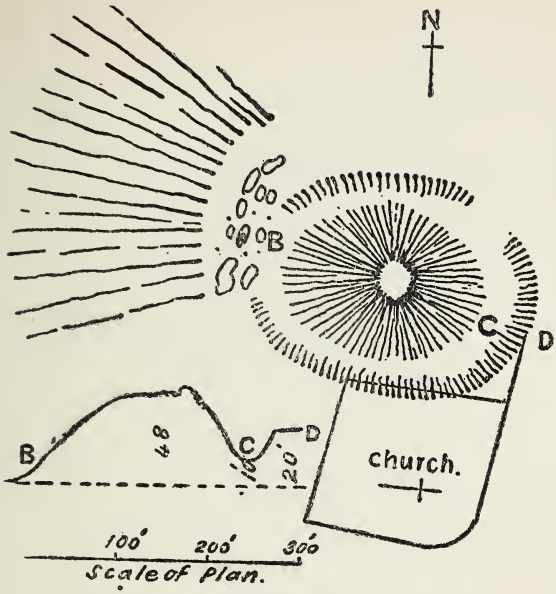
## CLASS D.

Forts consisting only of a mount with encircling ditch or fosse,

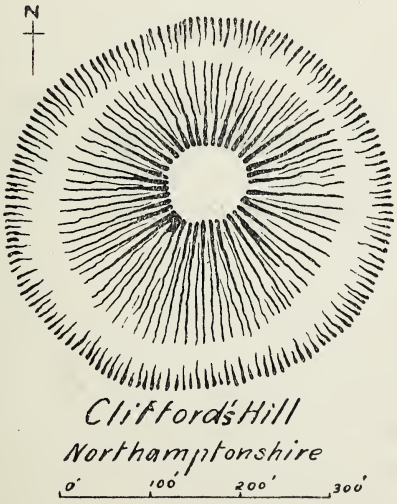
*e.g.*—Bures Mount, Essex.*
The Mount, Caerleon.
Clifford's Hill, Northamptonshire.*

* See plans on following page.

In some cases, forts, apparently of this class, may be incomplete examples of Class E, which once possessed, but have lost the attached courts or baileys.




BURES MOUNT. ESSEX.



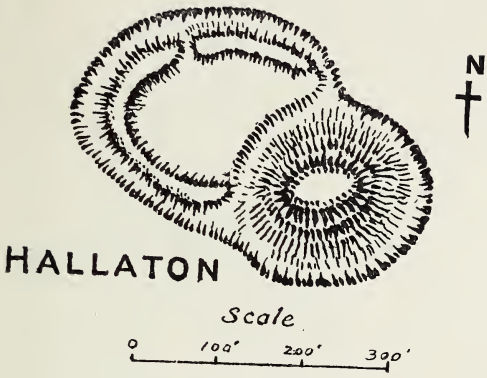
## CLASS E

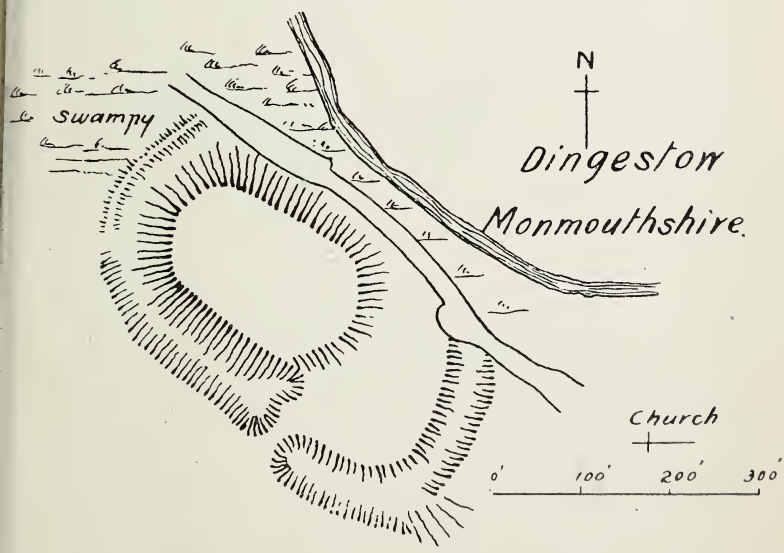
Fortified mounts, either artificial or partly natural, with traces of an attached court or bailey, or of two or more such courts,

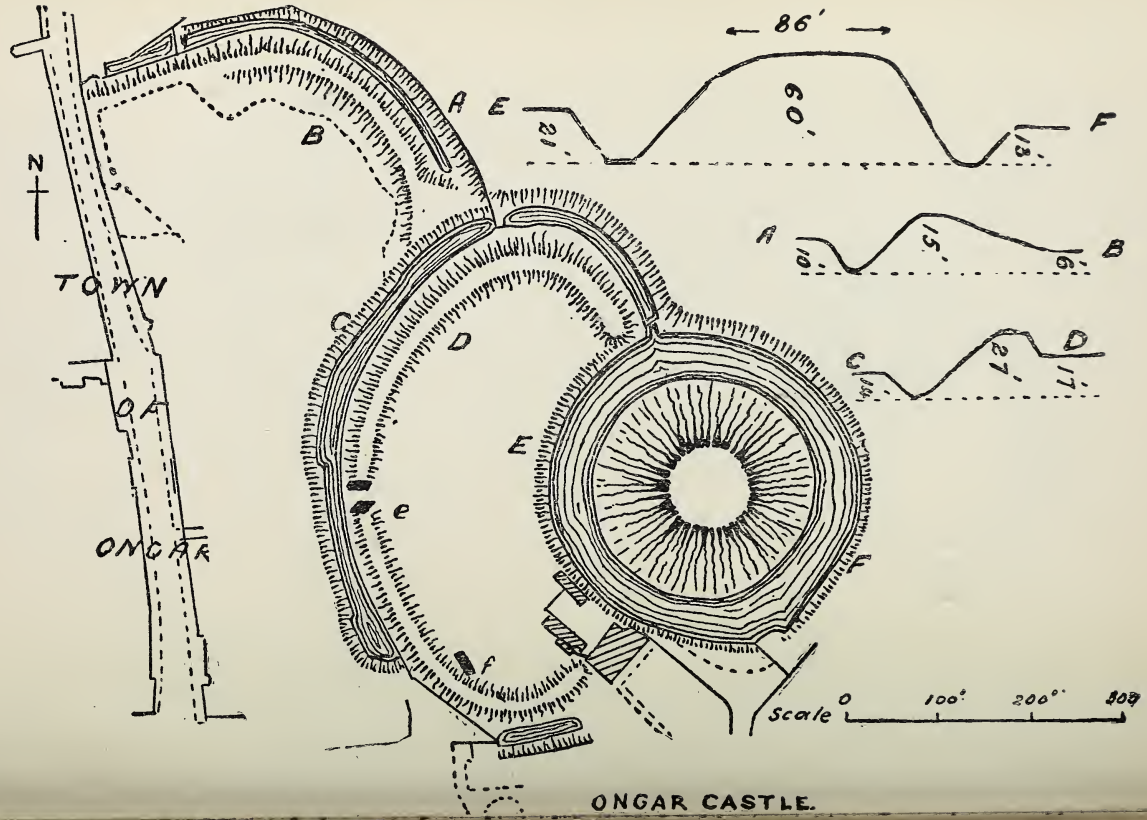
*e.g.*—Hallaton, Leicestershire.*
Laughton, Yorkshire.
Berkhampstead, Herts.
Ongar, Essex.*
Dingestow, Monmouthshire.*
Powerstock, Dorsetshire.
Merdon Castle, Hampshire.
Hedingham, Essex.*
Corfe, Dorsetshire.

* See plans on following pages.

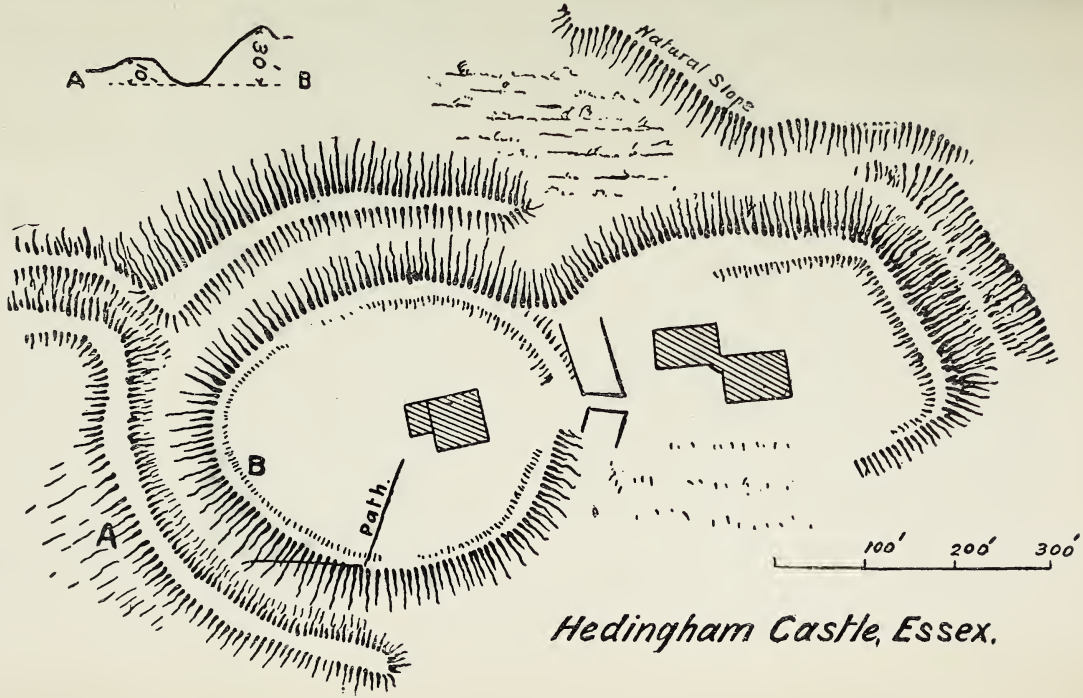
In some cases, earthworks have, in later times, been obscured, or strengthened by the substitution of masonry and buildings for the original timber defences, as at Windsor, Carisbrooke, Arundel, Berkhampstead, Norwich, Castle Acre, Corfe, &c.


N
HALLATON
Scale
0
100'
200'
300'


N
Swampy
Dingestow
Monmouthshire.
Church
0'
100'
200'
300'




ONGAR CASTLE.




Hedingham Castle, Essex.

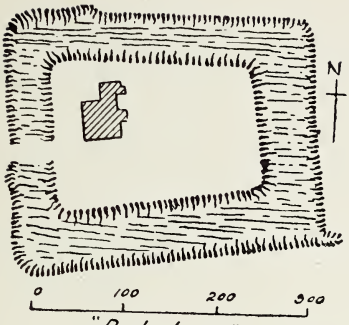
## CLASS F.

Homestead moats, such as abound in some lowland districts, consisting of simple enclosures formed into artificial islands by water moats,

*e.g.*—Botelers, Basildon, Essex.*
Cubley, Derbyshire.*
Old Hall, Denby, Derbyshire.*

*See plans on following page.

Homestead moats occasionally have traces of a rampart, usually on the inner side of the ditch. This should be mentioned, also the shape of the enclosure (circular, rectangular, &c.). A note should be made of examples in which channels divide the enclosure into two or more islands, and of those which are provided with an outer moat (generally narrower) at some distance, enclosing a considerable area round the homestead.




"Botelers"
BASILDON
ESSEX.

CUBLEY

OLD HALL
DENBY

Scale
0 100 200 300

## N.B.

In every case in which masonry is used for defence, whether wholly or in part, or as an inside wall to the rampart, or as the rampart itself, the fact should be mentioned.

The existence of mounds or tumuli entirely within defensive enclosures should be noted.

When a fortress is provided with more than one rampart or wall, the fact should be recorded, as also when the enclosed area is divided by transverse banks. It should also be noted whether such additional ramparts or their ditches are intermittent or continuous, and whether the entrances are direct or of a tortuous character.

It is specially desired that the position of each work be indicated by noting the number of the sheet of the O. S. (6-inch scale) in which it appears, and by giving the name of the nearest town or village.

Plans traced from the 25-inch O. S. maps should, if possible, be sent. Ramparts and ditches should be clearly indicated, as in the accompanying illustrations, as well as the O. S. levels, and accurate sections will be of great service. Precipices, as at Comb Moss, and abrupt slopes, as at Mam Tor, should be indicated as shewn on the accompanying plans, and named.

Although lists of all defensive earthworks and enclosures will be welcomed, it is to be borne in mind that plans and sections of them, based upon personal examination, are particularly desired.

Though not strictly within the scope of this enquiry, it is suggested that all mediæval castles should be included in the schedules, since many of them originated in earthworks of Class E.

Assistance will be duly recorded in the report which the Committee hopes to present to a future Congress of Archæological Societies.

HARRISON AND SONS, PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, W,C

# INDEX

OF

# ARCHÆOLOGICAL PAPERS

## PUBLISHED

IN

## 1901

[BEING THE ELEVENTH ISSUE OF THE SERIES AND COMPLETING THE INDEX FOR THE PERIOD 1891–1901]

COMPILED BY
GEORGE LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A

PUBLISHED BY
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UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE CONGRESS OF
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES IN UNION WITH
THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
1902

Butler & Tanner,
The Selwood Printing Works,
Frome, and London.

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# NOTE

This Index was begun under the auspices of the Congress of Archæological Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries. Its success being assured the Congress have placed it in the hands of the publishers to continue yearly.

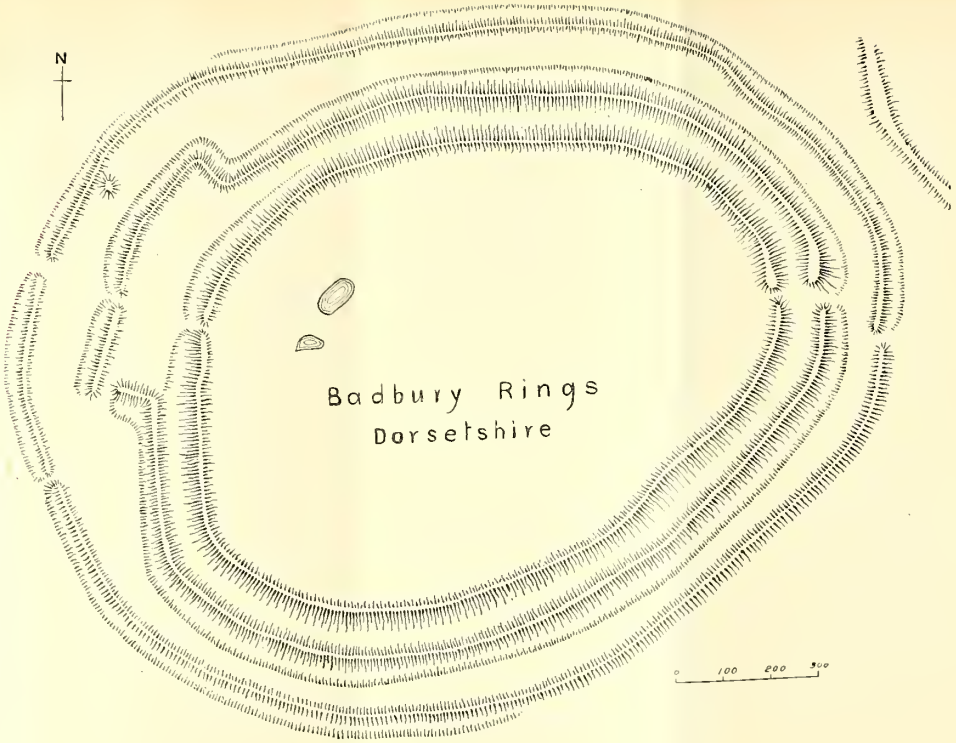
The value of the Index to archæologists is now recognised. Every effort is made to keep its contents up to date and continuous, but it is obvious that the difficulties are great unless the assistance of the societies is obtained. If for any reason the papers of a society are not indexed in the year to which they properly belong, the plan is to include them in the following year; and whenever the papers of societies are brought into the Index for the first time they are then indexed from the year 1891.

By this plan it will be seen that the year 1891 is treated as the commencing year for the Index, and that all transactions published in and since that year will find their place in the series.

To make this work complete an index of the transactions from the beginning of archæological societies down to the year 1890 is needed. This work is now going through the press.

Societies will greatly oblige by communicating any omissions or suggestions to the editor, Laurence Gomme, F.S.A., 24, Dorset Square, London, N.W.

Single copies of the yearly Index from 1891 may be obtained. The subscription list for the complete Index up to 1891 is still open, and intending subscribers should apply at once to Messrs. Archibald Constable & Co. Many of the Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries take a sufficient number of copies of the yearly Index to issue with their transactions to each of their members. The more this plan is extended the less will be the cost of the Index to each society.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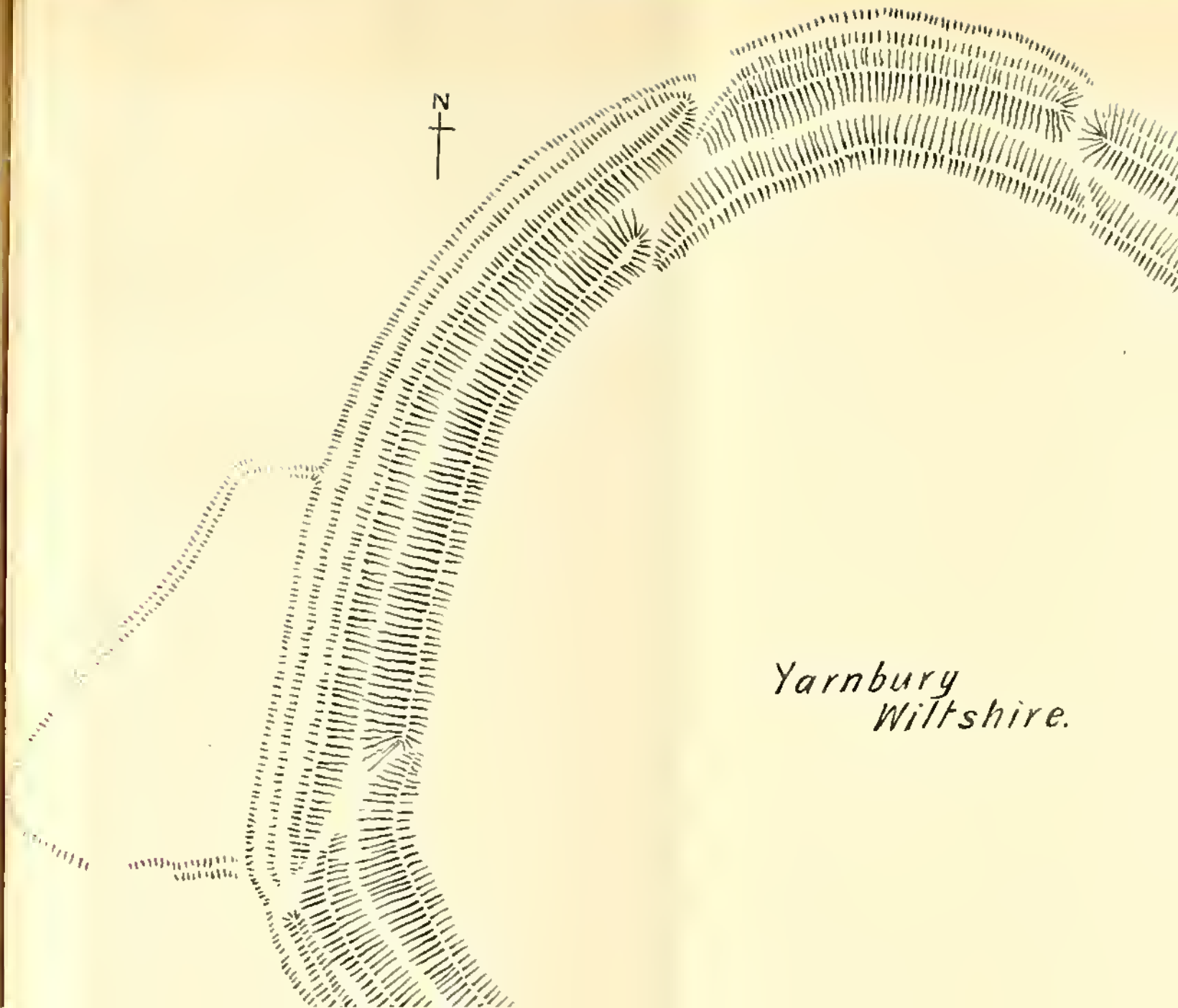


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Leeds (Kent): *James.*
Leeds (Yorks): *Ford, Lumb.*
Leicester : *Compton, Lynam, Oliver.*
Leicestershire: *Bellairs, Hartopp. See* "Groby," "Houghton on the Hill," "Kirby Muxloe," "Leicester," "Lutterworth," "Noseley," "Ratby," "Ulvescroft."
Leper-hospitals : *Andrews.*
Lewes : *Boyson.*
Lincoln : *James.*
Lincolnshire: *Foster. See* "Lincoln," "Scunthorpe," "Tattershall."
Libraries : *Church, Clark, Close, Cooper, Johnston, Lawlor.*
Literary history : *Axon, Bolton, Browning, Davey, Howorth, Lack-Szyrma, Neilson, Phené.*
Little Laver : *Round.*
Little Munden : *Sworder.*
Liverpool: *Shaw.*
Llandaff: *Halliday.*
Llantrissant: *Corbett.*
London: *Garnett, Hardy, Lach-Szyrma, Maurice, Munich, Norman, Prevost, Urwich, Waller, Werge.*
Loughlinstown : *Ball.*
Loughton: *Waller.*
Lunéville, peace of : *Roberts.*
Lutterworth : *Patrick.*
Lych gates : *Halliday.*
Lymm : *Ball.*

Mabe : *Peter.*
Maidstone : *Robertson.*
Malmesbury : *James.*
Malvern (Great): *Paul.*
Man (Isle of) : *Howorth.*
Manchester : *Ball.*
Manor courts : *Kelly, Kirby, Maddock.*
Maori : *Roth.*
Margate : *Cotton, Woodruff.*
Maryculter : *Edwards.*
Matterdale : *Whiteside.*
Meonstoke : *Kirby.*
Metallurgy : *Gowland, Rosenhain.*
Mexico : *Corner.*
Middleton : *Dean.*
Military history : *Firth, Gould, Knowles, Linn, Ruck.*
Millington : *Leadman.*
Minster: *Frampton.*
Monmouthshire : *See* "Caerwent."
Monuments, inscriptions, brasses, etc. : *André, Bower, Browne, Brydall, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Christy, Cocks, Davis, Fallow, Hartshorn, Jewers, Rice, Stephenson, Wells.*
Mortimer : *Cameron.*
Municipal antiquities : *Atkinson, Berry, Caldecott, Drinkwater, Hope, Morris, Statham, Vigors. Windeatt.*

Names : *MacBain.*
Navestock : *Gould.*
Netheravon : *Ponting.*
Nevenden : *Beaumont.*
New Guinea : *Haddon.*
New Ross : *Manning, Vigors.*
Norfolk : *Astley. See* "Buckenham," "Hunstanton."
Norse invasion : *Mackay.*
Northamptonshire : *Brereton, Cox.*
Northumberland : *Haverfield. See* "Tynemouth."
Noseley : *Hartopp.*
Nottingham : *Green, Hope.*
Nottinghamshire : *See* "Calverton," "Nottingham."
Numismatics : *Brooking-Rowe, Richardson.*
Elizabeth : *Gerish.*
Henry I : *Andrew.*
Justinian I. : *Searle.*
Manx : *Howorth.*
Roman : *Caldecott, Christy, Clark, Haverfield.*
Nunburnholm : *Leadman.*

Okehamption : *Prickman.*
Oldbury : *Southam.*
Ormesby : *Fallow.*

Ormshed: *Brunskill.*
Orton (Great): *Parker.*
Oxfordshire: *Windle. See* "Broughton," "Wittenham (Little)."

Paisley: *Ross.*
Parish registers: *Dickinson, Hartopp, Lumb.*
Patrington: *Maddock.*
Peles: *Cowper.*
Penrith: *Watson.*
Phillippines: *MacKinley.*
Pitney Moor: *Gray.*
Place-names: *Bourke, Mackay, Potter.*
Pleshey: *Round.*
Plesingho: *Round.*
Poor, provision for: *Phillips.*
Pottery: *Prevost.*
Prehistoric remains: *Knowles, Westropp, Willett, Windle.*
Brochs: *Anderson.*
Crannogs: *Munro.*
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Earth houses: *Kay.*
Graves: *Primrose.*
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Kitchen midden: *Munro, Traquair.*
Stone circles: *Coles, Lewis.*
Urns: *Abercromby.*
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Preston: *Ball.*
Priories: *Adamson, Boyson, Chadwick, Hope, James, Patrick.*
Prisoners in England: *Phillips, Prickman.*
Pulborough: *Harley, Rice.*

Raby Cote: *Grainger, Hodgson.*
Ratby: *Hartopp.*
Richard (St.) of Chichester: *Cooper.*
Roadways: *Bellairs, Kempthorne, Napper, Salkield.*
Robert of Belesme: *Auden.*
Roman remains: *Allen, Fry, Garstang, Gerish, Goldney, Sparke.*
Caerwent: *Ashby, Martin.*
Camps: *Andrew, Christison.*
Cardiff Castle: *Ward.*
Cornwall: *Worth.*
Germany (South): *Lewis.*
Hadrian's wall: *Foster.*
Hardknott: *Dymond.*
Interments: *Woodruff.*
Law: *Clark.*
Medicine: *Barnes.*
Pulborough: *Rice.*
Pyrenees: *Whiteway.*
Roads: *Bellairs, Bullock-Hall, Cowper, Croft, Martin.*
Rome: *Forbes.*
Sarcophagi: *Robert.*
Silchester: *Fox, Hope, Reid.*
Stations: *Anderson, Buchanan, Christison.*
Urns and lamp: *Thompson.*
Villas: *Barker.*
Wilderspool: *May.*
Wittenham (Little): *Cozens. See* "Numismatics."
Romsey: *Moens, Peers.*
Royden: *Gerish.*
Ruyton-of-the-eleven-towns: *Kenyon.*
Ryland: *Ffrench.*

Saddleworth: *Andrew.*
St. Mylor: *Peter.*
St. Patrick's Purgatory: *MacRitchie.*
Saints: *Auden, Baring-Gould.*
Sarawak: *Hose, Shelford.*
Savernake: *Willett.*
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Scotland: *Brydall. Campbell, Coles, Lewis, Mackay, MacRitchie, Mitchell, Munro. See* "Aberdeenshire," "Arran," "Caithness." "Eigg," "Elgin," "Fifeshire," "Glasgow," "Largs," "Paisley," "Stirlingshire," "Sutherland."
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Seals: *Atkinson, Warren.*
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Shropshire: *Auden, Drinkwater, Fletcher, Hope-Edwards, Phillips, Shropshire. See* "Fitz," "Haughmond," "Oldbury," "Ruyton," "Shrewsbury," "Shifnal," "Uffington," "Whitchurch," "Willey."
Shute: *Jewers.*
Silchester: *Fox, Hope, Reid.*
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Somersetshire: *Bates, Fry, Morgan. See* "Bath," "Langford Budville," "Pitney Moor," "Wells," "Whatley," "Winsham."

Spain: *Dalton.*
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Stansted Montfichet: *Laver.*
Stirlingshire: *Anderson.*
Stockbury: *Cooke.*
Stockleigh English: *Erskine-Risk.*
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Suffolk: *Suffolk. See* "Bardwell," "Blythburgh," "Ickworth."
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Sutherland: *Anderson Mackay.*

Tasmania: *Moir.*
Tattershall: *Sympson.*
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Tewkesbury: *Warren.*
Tiptree: *F.*
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Tolleshunt Tregoz: *Round.*
Tong: *Calvert.*
Totnes: *Windeatt.*
Trephining: *Crump.*
Treyford: *Rice.*
Tumuli, Barrows: *Barnes, Collingwood, Hughes, Worth.*
Turville: *Cocks, Forsyth.*
Tynemouth: *Adamson.*

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Wakefield: *Peacock.*
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Wittenham (Little): *Cozens.*
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